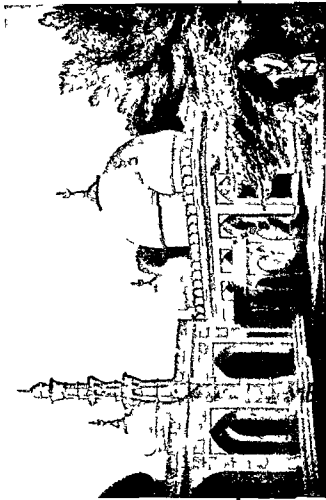
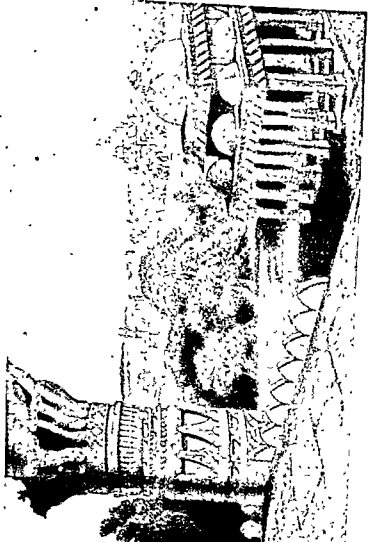


RAS MÂLÂ



TOMB OF SHOOJAF KHAN IN AHMEDABAD



THE SHAHJEE BAGH
From the Terrace of a Mosque

Khan, despairing of being joined by the Mahrattas, left Ahmedabad defended by a weak garrison, and retired before the advanced division of the army of Sur Boolund. The Mahrattas had, however, crossed the Myhee, and as they joined him at Mahmoodabad, he retraced his steps to the capital. A party in the city, favorable to the new governor, having overpowered his garrison, and forced them out, Hamed Khan encamped at the Shahee Bagh on the same day that the advanced guard of Sur Boolund Khan arrived at Udâlej. The rebel leader obtained a victory over this force, which had been pushed too far in advance, but his advantage was dearly purchased and the Mahrattas could not be brought to risk another battle. Hamed Khan became, therefore, a mere plunderer like themselves, and though military officers were appointed to the command of each district, and arrangements made with more than ordinary vigour by the new governor, Kuntâjee and Peelajee continued to plunder during the remainder of the season, until at the approach of the rains they took their annual flight. 'A deceitful calm' says the historian of Mahrâshtra, 'succeeded,—the fall of the rain brought back the cheering green, and the beautiful province of Gozerat which, for hundreds of miles may vie with the finest parks of the nobles of England was clothed, in all its natural beauties, by rapid verdure and luxuriant vegetation. Tranquillity seemed to reign where, a short time before nothing was to be seen but perpetual skirmishing, murder and robbery in open day, caravans pillaged even when strongly escorted, and villages burning or deserted.'

Sur Boolund Khan exerted himself to check the incursions of the Mahrattas, and he repeatedly applied to Court for a supply of money, the exhausted state of the country under his circumstances rendering it impossible to raise at first any revenue of consequence. His demands, however, being entirely neglected, he next endeavoured to conciliate Peelajee and Kuntâjee by grants of chouth but this attempt also failed the Mahratta leaders collecting all the revenue but affording no protection to the country. At length Chammajee Appa, the brother of the

Peshwah Bājee Row,¹ arriving with a large army, plundered Dholka and exacted a heavy contribution from Ptlad. He promised however, on the part of his brother, that if concessions were made to him the country should be effectually secured from the depredations of all other freebooters. Sur Boolund Khan at length agreed to the Peshwah's proposals, after stipulating that two thousand five hundred Mahratta horse should constantly be kept up, and that every assistance should be afforded in maintaining the imperial authority. Bajee Row further agreed on the part of Raja Sahoo, to prevent Mahratta subjects from taking part with or in any way supporting disaffected zameendars and other disturbers of the public peace—a clause apparently particularly aimed at Peelajee Guikowar who had leagued himself with the Bheels and Kooles of the country and was on that account considered particularly formidable by the Mohummedans.

No sooner had the Peshwah obtained these terms from Sur Boolund Khan than Trimbuk Row Dhabaree commenced to negotiate with the other Mahratta leaders and to assemble troops in Goozerat. At length, finding himself at the head of thirty five thousand men and having secured the support of Nizamool Moolk he arranged his plans for an invasion of the

¹ [The term *Peshwa* or Prime Minister is Persian and was introduced into the Dekhan by the Bahman kings. Burhan Khan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar conferred it on a Brahman named Kavare ngh in 1529 (Grant Duff op cit i 61). Under Shivaji the office was revived in 1656 Samraj Pant becoming the Peshwa or head of the *Ashta Pradhan* (Council of Eight). Shivaji in order to encourage the national spirit changed the Persian titles of his officials for Marathi ones after his coronation in 1676 and the Peshwa was known for a time as the *Muljya Pradhan*. In 1714 Raja Sahu made Balaji Visvanath Peshwa and this great minister about four years later wrung from the Imperial Court the epoch making grant which recognized the independence of the Marathas. In 1709 Balaji was succeeded in his office by his son Rajarao I who in 1740 was in his turn succeeded by Balaji Bajirao. On the death of Raja Sahu in 1749 Balaji Bajirao brought off his famous coup d'état which reduced the House of Shivaji to the position of mere *rois faibles* state prisoners at Satara, while the Peshwas ruled in their name at Poona. The Peshwas were Chitpavan Brahmins by caste and their domination was bitterly resented by the great Maratha families the Gaikwars Dabhades and others as well as by Farabhat Raj ruling widow.]

Dekkan. He was supported by Peeljee Guikowar, by Kuntajee and Rughdojee Kuddum Bhanday, by Oodajee and Anund Row Powar, and by many other officers, and he proclaimed that he was proceeding to the Dekkan, to protect from the Peshwah's ambition the authority of Sahoo Raja. Bajee Row determined to anticipate his opponents. His army was far inferior in numerical strength but was composed of the old Pagah¹ horse, and of some of the best of the famed Mahratta Mankurees. He advanced therefore rapidly towards Gozerat, and had soon crossed the Nerbudda. Here his vanguard came into collision with a party of the enemy under the command of Damajee, the son of Peelajee Guikowar and was completely defeated. This check however, did not discourage Bajee Row. He continued his advance and at last met his enemy at a place between the cities of Dubhoee and Baroda, both then held by Peelajee Guikowar, where he gained the decisive victory which gave him all but nominal control of the Mahratta sovereignty.²

This important battle was fought upon the first of April, A.D. 1731. Bajee Row when about to engage his countrymen determined, contrary to his usual plan to close with them immediately. The new levies of the Senaputtee did not await the shock but fled at the first charge. Kuntajee Kuddum Bhanday joined them in their flight, and soon the veterans of Khundee Row Dhabaree were alone left to protect his son. Bajee Row fought on horseback and exerted himself with all the energy so great an occasion required. His opponent was mounted on an elephant, and beholding the flight of his troops, commanded the animal's legs to be chained. The field was disputed with obstinacy, and the issue was still doubtful, when

¹ [The Maratha horse so celebrated in history, may be divided into three classes*]

1. *Khasi Laga* or Household Cavalry, mounted on horses provided by the State a very fine body of light horse which took a leading part in the Maratha wars.

2. *Silladar Cavalry* providing their own equipment and chargers

3. The *Pindars* and other irregulars who haunted the Maratha camps and spread like a cloud round their armies on the march plundering far and wide.]

* [See Grant Duff : 368]

Trumbuk Row, as he drew his bow string to his ear, was slain by a random matchlock ball.

The victory gained, Bajee Row, at the suggestion of Sur Boolund Khan, prepared to reduce Baroda,—the possessor of which, Peelâjee Guikowar, had escaped wounded from the field. An accommodation was, however, come to in the month of August, and the Peshwah, at the close of the rainy season, returned to Satara.

The victory over Dhabarce, like the issue of every civil war, left impressions on the minds of many, which were not easily effaced. The Peshwah, however, adopted every means of conciliation in his power. Among other measures, Yeshwunt Row, the young son of the deceased, was raised to the rank of Senaputee, under the guardianship of his mother, and Peelâjee Guikowar, their former lieutenant, was confirmed in that situation assuming the title of Sena Khas Kheyl, in addition to his hereditary one of Shumsher Buhadur. In order to prevent disputes, an agreement was drawn up under the authority of Sahoo Raja and subscribed by the Peshwah and the Senaputee, which stipulated that neither party should enter the possessions of the other in Goozerat and Malwa. Within the limits of the former province the Senâputee was to have the entire management, but he bound himself to pay one half of the revenue to the Satara government through the Peshwah.

Although no attempt had been made to assist Sur Boolund Khân or to avert the calamity and disgrace which that officer foretold must be the consequence of neglecting his applications for assistance, the concessions made in Goozerat were highly disapproved of by the imperial Court, and the Khan was superseded by Ubhye Singh Rathor Raja of Marwar, who proceeded with an army to take possession of his new government. Sur Boolund Khan opposed him for some time, but at last retired to Delhi, where he was extremely ill used, and unworthily disgraced.

The district of Broach was at this time held by an officer named Abdoolah Beg as military governor under Sur Boolund Khan. It had been formerly assigned to Nizâm ool Woolk as one of the districts of his personal estate, and Abdoolah Beg now placed himself under the authority of the Nizâm, from

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• रास माला

Hindoo Annals of the Province
of Goozerat in Western India

By ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES

Of the Hon. the E. I. Co. and of the Hon. the Secy. of State

EDITED WITH HISTORICAL NOTES AND APPENDICES²

By H. G. RAWLINSON

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BOOK III

RÂS MÂLÂ

CHAPTER I

FROM THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE MAHRATTAS IN
GOOZERAT TO THE CAPTURE OF AHMEDABAD ¹

LARLÂ in the eighteenth century, Khundee Row Dhabaree,² the Senaputtee of the Mahratta empire, began to pour his predatory horse into Goozerat, and exact tribute from that province. At first he hung about the neighbourhood of the city of Shah Ahmed, but afterwards, retiring for a time therefrom, he

¹ The information contained in this, and the next following chapter is almost entirely taken from Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, and Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*. [James Cunningham Grant Duff, 1789-1858, came to India in 1805, and was posted to the 1st Bombay Native Infantry. He became Assistant to Mountstuart Elphinstone, British Resident at Poona, and was present at the battle of Khirkhor 1817 and the operations resulting in the overthrow of the last Peshwa. He was then made Resident at Satara where he had unique opportunities to collect matter for his great work the *History of the Mahrattas*, which he published in 1826. It was reprinted in 1863, 1873, 1878, 1912, and 1921. James Forbes, author of the *Oriental Memoirs*, was born in 1749, and went to Bombay as a 'writer' in the service of the Company in 1765. In 1775 he accompanied the British mission sent to support Ragoba in Gujarât, serving in the capacity of Private Secretary to Colonel Keating. In 1780 he became Collector of Dabhoi, and two years later, when the town was ceded to the Marathas (as described in the quotations from his *Oriental Memoirs* in chapter II of the present work, *infra*) he returned to England. He was travelling on the Continent at the time of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens and was detained in France till 1804. His daughter Eliza who married a member of the Montalembert family, had a son, the famous Charles de Montalembert, the Catholic historian (b 1810). The *Oriental Memoirs* appeared in 4 volumes, 1813-15, and Forbes died at Aix La-Chapelle in 1819.]

² [The founder of the family was Yespatil Dabhale, Mukaddam of Talegaon near Poona. 'He was a Maratha by caste, and was tutor to Sambhaji and Râjaram the sons of Shivaji. His son, Khanderao, fought against the Moghals for Râjaram and was made *Senapati*, or commander-in-chief, by Balaji Viswanath, the first Peshwa.]

effected a more permanent establishment in the strong country about Nandode and Rajpeepla from whence he commanded the principal routes for traffic between Goozerat and the Dekkan. At the battle of Balapoor¹ fought in A.D. 1730, the troops of Dhābaree distinguished themselves by their bravery and on that field a chieftain first obtained renown whose name was destined to exercise no unimportant influence on the affairs of Goozerat. Damajee Guikowār² was now appointed to command under the Senaputee and was ennobled by the title of Shumsher Buhadur.

Both Khundee Row and his newly appointed lieutenant died soon after they had attained this success. Trimbuk Row Dhābaree was then honoured with the dress of Senaputee in succession to his father and Peelajee the son of Junkojee Guikowar, obtained the command which had been held by his uncle Damajee. A few years afterwards Oodajee Powar another active partisan leader, brought his Mahratta horse into Goozerat and Malwa plundering the former province as far as Loonawara and laying the foundations in the latter, of a power imitating the name and possessing the royal seat of the dynasty of Bhoj³. Shoojat Khān was at this time appointed the deputy in Goozerat of Sur Boolund Khān the imperial viceroy, and he was opposed by Hāmed Khān on the part of his nephew, Nizam ool Moolk, who had lately been deposed from the government of the province⁴. Hāmed Khān by a

¹ [The correct date is 1720. The Nizam ul Mulk had proclaimed himself independent and had defeated an army sent against him by the Sayyids who at that time (1713-'20) were the king makers at Delhi. At Balapur in Berar the Imperial Army under Ālam Ali Khān was again cut up with the loss of its leader. On this occasion the Mahrattas behaved as faithful auxiliaries and fought with bravery they lost no person of note except Shunkrajee Mulhar who was mortally wounded and made prisoner. (Grant Duff *History of the Mahrattas* ed. 1921, I 340 and cf. p. 353.)

² [The Gaikwār family came originally from the village of Dārdi near Poona in the Khed district. According to one old story the first Gaikwar was the Senāpatī's *pāsd* or confidential messenger, Marathi *pāsd* being a corruption of Ar Pers *pāds*, a spy.]

³ [See Grant Duff, *op. cit.* I 359.]

⁴ [In 1722 Jumlat ul Mulk Nizam ul Mulk, was appointed 51st Viceroy of Cujarāt. He made his uncle Hāmid Khān Deputy Viceroy, and

promise of *'the chauth,'* succeeded in procuring the assistance of the Mahratta leader, Kuntaje Kuddum Bhanday,¹ and these two officers, joining their forces, attacked, defeated, and slew Shoojat Khan, within a few miles of the capital of Goozerat. When this event occurred, Roostum Ulee, the brother of Shoojat Khan, held the office of military governor of Surat, and had just gained advantages over Peelajee Guikowar, in the neighbourhood of that city.

Hearing of his brother's defeat and death, Roostum Ulee made a truce with his Mahratta opponent, and invited him to join in an attack upon Hamed Khan. The wily Mahratta accepted his overtures, though already engaged by the emissaries of his adversary, and accompanied him towards Ahmedabad until he could ascertain precisely which side it would be most advantageous for him to join. The confederates crossed the Myhee at Fuzilpoor, and advanced to Aras. Hamed Khan here attacked them, but was driven back by the fire of Roostum Ulee's artillery. By this time, however Peelajee Guikowar had chosen his side, he therefore recommended Roostum Ulee to charge the fugitives leaving the guns to his care. The gallant Mohammedan had no sooner followed this fatal advice than his guns were overturned and his troops attacked in the rear by his treacherous ally. Roostum Ulee defended himself for some time with bravery but his reduced numbers showed him the impossibility of escape, and dreading the ignominious

Mirza Khan Governor of Surat. Becoming disgusted with his treatment at Court, he retired to the Dekhan and declared himself independent whereupon the Emperor Muhammad Shah made Sarbuland Khan Viceroy with Shujaat Khan as Deputy Viceroy. War then broke out between the rival factions as Hamid Khan refused to be deposed.]

¹ [Kantaji Hadam Bande an officer of Raja Sahu had been sent to Malwa and entered Gujarat by the north-east. He ravaged the country round Dolad, and in 1723 levied the first regular Maratha tribute on that district. *Chauth* was one of the three great grants wrung from the Imperial Court by Balaji Visvanath, the Peshwa, in 1719. They were the *Chauth* or one fourth of the revenues of the Dekhan, *Sardeshmukhi* or one tenth over and above the *Chauth* and *Swarajya*, or autonomy, in the districts held by Shivaji at his death. The Marathas pretended that they were also given the *Chauth* of Gujarat and Malwa at the same time but this assertion is unconformable. See Grant Duff *op cit*, 1, 337 D.]

treatment to which he knew he should be exposed as a prisoner, he stabbed himself to the heart •

Peelajee's treachery was rewarded by an equal share of the chouth with Kuntajee, and both, in conjunction, proceeded to levy their assignments, but the division of the money led to perpetual disputes. For some time these differences only produced heavier impositions on the towns and villages. When however the Mahratta leaders approached Cambay, and began, as usual to burn the suburbs for the purpose of intimidation, the inhabitants aware of their dissensions, and affecting to consider Kuntajee the superior sent a messenger to Peelajee hinting this circumstance and offering him a sum of money to retire. Peelajee exasperated by the insult, confined the messenger. Kuntajee insisted on his being released and both flew to arms to assert their prerogative. After a severe conflict within sight of the walls Peelajee was discomfited and retired to Matur near Kaira. The contribution from Cambay was levied by the victor. The sum of five thousand rupees having been demanded from the English factory, the agents pleaded exemption in consequence of privilege of trade from the 'Shao Raj' but at this 'the armed villains' as Mr Innes the chief of the factory in bitterness of heart terms them, 'only laughed'.

Hamed Khan foreseeing the desertion of one or other of his allies made them sign an agreement by which the chouth, east of the Myhee was assigned to Peelajee and that to the west to Kuntajee. The Mahrattas still preserved their original custom of retiring to quarters during the rainy season and soon after the battle at Cambay Peelajee retired to Songurh, near Surat and Kuntajee to a district which he held in Candeish.

Sur Boolund Khan an excellent and popular officer, who had been unjustly removed from Cabul was at this season of difficulty courted by the emperor, and earnestly solicited to repair to his government in Goozerat for the purpose of suppressing the formidable insurrection of Hamed Khan. A large army was soon assembled under his command and he proceeded on his route to Ahmedabad in A. D. 1725. Hamed

whom he received the title of Nck Alum Khân, and neither acknowledged Ubhyc Singh nor admitted the pretensions of the Mahrattas

In A D 1752, Ubhyc Singh's officer recovered the fort of Baroda The cause of Peelajee Guikowar was, however, popular He took the field, gained several victories, and occupied many of the principal fortified places The Rathor chief at last determined upon despatching him, and, on pretence of arranging a final agreement, sent emissaries to him with that intention. These persons met Peelajee at Dikor, a village in the district of Tusrâ, celebrated for its shrine of Shree Runchor They had frequent interviews with him, to disarm suspicion At length having sat one evening until dusk, they took leave, and quitted the Guikowar's tent One of the number, on pretence of having omitted some communication of importance, returned, and, affecting to whisper in Peelajee's ear, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger

The assassination of Peelajee Guikowar failed, however, to secure the advantages expected by Ubhyc Singh The Koolees and Bheels instigated by the Desaee of Pâdurâ, near Baroda, who had lived in friendship with Peelajee, rose all over the country, Mahadajee Guikowar, the brother of Peelajee, advanced from Jumbooseer, and re took Baroda, which has ever since remained in the hands of the Guikowar family, and Damajee, the eldest son of the murdered chief, advanced with a large force from Songurh,¹ occupied many of the principal districts in the east of Goozerat, and pushing his incursions as far as Jodhpoor, compelled Ubhyc Singh to resign Ahmedabad to a deputy that he might return homewards for the protection of his hereditary dominions

Damajee Guikowar now established himself in Goozerat, and, two years afterwards, compelled his father's rival, Kuntjee Kuddum Bhandry, to quit the province Kuntajee, however, the next year, A. D 1755, persuaded Holkar to join him in an

¹ [Songurh was an old Bhil stronghold, on the western skirts of the Dang forest, 21° 10' N, 73° 36' E, and between forty and fifty miles from Surat. It was seized by Pylaji in 1713 and became the head quarters of his marauding forces until Damaji moved to Pattan in 1760. It has been well called the cradle of the Guikwar family in Gujarat.]

inroad upon Goozerat, they appeared unexpectedly, plundered several towns to the north of Ahmedabad, levied contributions at Ledur and Pahlunpoor and as far as the Bunas, and departed as suddenly as they had come. Ubhaye Singh was shortly afterwards formally removed from the government of Goozerat but his deputy Bhundaree Rutun shee refused to evacuate the city of Ahmedabad and Nujeeb ood Dowlah Momin Khan the newly appointed governor was compelled to solicit the aid of Damajee Guikowar in order to expel him. The Guikowar and Momin Khan exchanged turbans¹ and the Mahratta chief sent a force under an agent named Rungajee *with his new ally to expel Rutun shee* the confederates were repulsed in an assault upon the city but Rutun shee at last surrendered. Rungajee and Momin Khan obtained possession of Ahmedabad about the 20th of May 1737 and an equal share of authority and revenue was assigned to the Moguls and Mahrattas an arrangement which as might have been expected occasioned constant disputes. In the same year the emperor having at last prevailed on Nizam ool Moolk to repair to court the governments of Malwa and Goozerat were once more restored to their chiefdom in the name of his eldest son Ghazee ood deen—the conditions being that he should drive the Mahrattas from those provinces. These conditions however he was unable to fulfil and after a contest with his able opponent the Peshwah Bajee Row Nizam ool moolk was compelled to sign a convention by which he promised to procure the emperor's confirmation to the grant to Bajee Row of the whole province of Malwa and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Chumbul and the Nerbudda.

Damajee Guikowar henceforth possessed very considerable resources. He wielded as agent of the widow of Trimbuk Row the whole power of the party of Dabaree for Yeshtwunt Row even when his age entitled him to claim that position was altogether incompetent to act as its leader. Damajee continued to levy all the usual Mahratta dues in Goozerat and an annual tribute from Kateewar until the death of Momin Khan in February 1743. Ubdool Uzeez Khan the new governor

¹ [Exchange of turbans means adoption as a brother (Tod *Annals of Rajasthan* ed. 1901: 432)]

appointed by an imperial edict, was then at Auringabad, in the DeKkan, he raised immediately a few thousand men, and, marching to assume the charge of his new government, passed Surat, and arrived at Unkulesur, near Broach. At this place, however, he was suddenly attacked by the partisans of Dâmájee and his party totally destroyed. Fukheer ood Dowlah was next sent from Delhi to take charge of Ahmedabad (A. D. 1744) but a detachment of Dâmájee's troops, under Rungajee, opposed him, and prevented his obtaining possession. Dâmájee was at this time absent at Satara, and his brother, Khundee Row, taking advantage of the opportunity made several important changes, removing Rungajee, and appointing an agent of his own at Ahmedabad. He also gave some support to Fulkheer ood Dowlah, but Dâmájee, speedily returning dissolved their connection before it had proved injurious to the Mahratta cause, by giving up to Khundee Row the fort of Borsud and the valuable district of Nerrud and appointing him his deputy at Baroda. By this judicious management Dâmájee preserved an ascendancy over the numerous members of his own family, and thus surmounted the most important obstacle to the maintenance of his power. He refused to acknowledge Fulkheer-ood Dowlah, and supported in preference the brother and son of his old ally, Momin Khan.

In A. D. 1751, Dâmájee Guikowar, on the invitation of Tará Bacc, the widow of Raja Ram, the son of Seevájee, marched to Satara to rescue the raja and the Mahratta state from the power of the Brahmins. As soon as accounts were received of the Guikowar's approach, Tará Bacc, who had before unsuccessfully urged the raja to assume the control usurped by his servant, Bálajee Bajee Row, now invited him into the fort of Satara, where she made him a prisoner. Dâmájee Guikowar was at first successful in defeating the Peshwah's officers, and in joining Tará Bacc, but he was immediately afterwards compelled to retire before them, and to open a negotiation with Bálajee. The Peshwah finding Dâmájee in his power now demanded the payment of all the arrears due from Gooserat, and the cession of a large portion of territory. Dâmájee represented that he was but the lieutenant of Dhabaree, and that he had no authority for complying with these demands. On this reply

the Peshwah seized some of the family of the Guikowar and of Dhābarce, and imprisoned them in a hill fort, he afterwards treacherously attacked and plundered the Guikowar's camp, and seizing Dāmājee himself, placed him in confinement in the city of Poonah. Before he would listen to any overtures for the release of his prisoner, the Peshwah bound him down by the strongest securities, he fixed a sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees as an acquittance for the amount then due; he also exacted a bond for an equal partition both of the districts then held by the Guikowar family in Goozerat, and of all future conquests. Dāmājee agreed to give up half the territory, and, after deducting his expenses, to render a fair account of half the surplus in situations where tribute, shares of revenue, contributions, or prize property were realized. He also engaged to maintain ten thousand horse, and to assist the Peshwah when necessary, to pay, as the lieutenant of Dhabaree, an annual tribute of five lakhs and twenty thousand rupees for his share of the Goozerat province, to contribute annually a certain sum for the support of the raja's establishment, to aid the Peshwah in establishing garrisons in the districts ceded by this agreement, and finally, to join in enforcing their mutual claims to tribute over the whole peninsula of Soorashtra. Rughoonath Row, or Rāghobā the younger brother of the Peshwah, now made an expedition into Goozerat with the view of completing the general arrangements comprehended in the settlements with Dāmājee Guikowar, and that chieftain having been released joined him with his army soon after he entered the province. They proceeded together levying tribute, and reducing the country, and their progress was not interrupted until they arrived under the walls of Ahmedabad.

The capital of Goozerat was then in the hands of Juwan Murd Khan Bābec, an officer originally appointed to the charge of the Mogul quarter by the brother of the deceased, Momin Khān, but who, during the confinement of Dāmājee had usurped the whole power of the city, permitting however, the realization of the Guikowar's dues. Juwan Murd Khān was absent at Pāhlunpoor when the confederated Mahratta chiefs appeared before Ahmedabad. He returned in time to save the city from being carried by escalade, and his presence com-

municating a new spirit to the garrison, the defence was maintained with great resolution. The conduct of Juvân Murd Khân Bábee procured him an honorable capitulation, and the districts of Puttun, Wurnugger, Rhâdunpoor, Beejâpoor, and others, were conferred upon him on condition of his giving up the city. In April, 1755, Ahmedabad was finally taken possession of by the Mahrattas. The revenue was to be equally divided between the Peshwah and Guikowâr, but the whole garrison was furnished by the Peshwah, excepting that of the citadel, now called the Guikowâr's Huwelee, which was occupied by the troops of Dâmâjee.

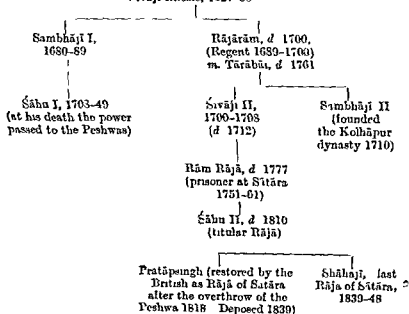
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

[The following Genealogical Trees will be useful in following the tangled skein of Marâtha History.]

I

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF ŚIVĀJĪ

Śivāji Bhoale, 1627-80



II

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF BALAJI VIŚVANÂTH,
PESHWÂ OF POONA

Balaji Viśvanath, Peshwa 1714-20

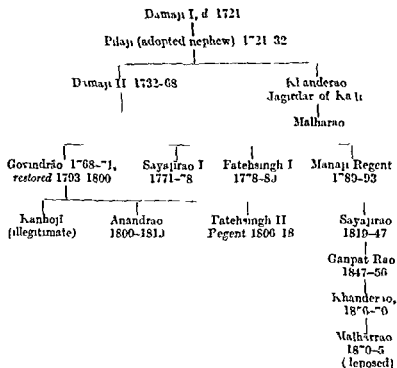
Bajirâo I, Peshwa 1720-40

Chimnaji Appa, d 1741

Balaji Bajirao, Peshwa
1740-61Raghunathrao
(Ragoba), d 1781
(Peshwa 1773)Visvasrao,
d 1701
(killed at
Panipat)Madhavrao I,
Peshwa
1761-72Narayanrao,
Peshwa
1772-3Madhavrao II, Peshwa
1774-95
(Regency of Nana
Fadnavis)Bajirâo II last
Peshwa deposed by
the British, 1796-1818

III

GENEALOGY OF THE GAIKWARS.



[The present ruler, His Highness Sir Sayajirao Gaikwar, G.C.S.I. adopted as heir to Khanderao in 1875, was invested with full powers in 1881. He is descended from a distant branch of the family.]

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH FIRST APPEAR IN GOOZERAT

FROM the time of Mr Bouchier's succession to the government of Bombay, which took place on the 17th November, 1750 a more intimate intercourse commenced between the Mahrattas and the English. The latter were long urgent with the Peshwah to assist them in restoring order in Surat, the affairs of which had during the weakness of the imperial government fallen into a state of confusion, and in establishing their privileges and trade in that city on a secure footing. The Peshwah, however failed to afford them the support they required, and when they attempted to effect their object independently of his assistance, he defeated their schemes by making a feint of attacking the island of Bombay. Surat Castle was notwithstanding taken possession of by the English, though with a considerable loss of both officers and men, on the 4th of March, A D 1759. It was not long before they were led to take a further step towards a territorial establishment in Goozerat. In A D 1771, they prepared to enforce against the Nowaib of Broach certain claims which they professed in right of sovereignty in Surat. A collision was, however, for a time avoided, and a treaty concluded with the Nowaib, which, as insufficiently favorable to the interests of the latter chief, was soon disregarded by him. The expedition which had been formerly projected, was now carried into effect, and Broach, with the loss of the gallant and accomplished general, David Wedderburn, was taken by storm on the 18th November, 1772.

Meanwhile, the great Guikowar chief Dāmājee Row, had died, leaving behind him four sons. Swayjee Row, the eldest of these, was the son of the second wife of Dāmājee, and his title to the succession was therefore disputed by his brother, Gowind Row, who though junior in age, derived his birth from the first-espoused wife of his father. The remaining sons, Minukjee and Tuteh Singh, brothers of the whole blood, were the children of a younger mother. The pretensions of Gowind Row had

been at first admitted by the Peshwah Mahdoo Row ; but, being afterwards disallowed in his court of law, were finally rejected by him in favor of those of Syâjee, who was invested accordingly with the titles of Senâ-Khâs-Kheyl, Shumsher Buhâdur. Syâjee Row was, however, an idiot, and his brother, Futteh Singh, was therefore appointed by the Peshwah to act as his deputy. After the death of Mahdoo Row, and the murder of Nârâyun Row, his brother, their uncle, Râghobâ, the younger son of Bâjee Row, succeeding for a time to the office of Peshwah, invested Gowind Row as successor to the Guikowâr possessions in supercession of the former installation of Syâjee. Gowind Row immediately set off for Goozerat, with the view of wresting the government from Futteh Singh, and a state of constant warfare commenced between the partizans of the rival brothers.¹

The continuance in power of Râghobâ was but brief. The ministers of the Poonah state, supported by the great military chiefs, Holkar and Sindia, opposed themselves to him, and in January, 1775, he arrived, almost a fugitive, at Baroda, in Goozerat, where his partizan, Gowind Row Guikowâr, was then engaged in besieging his brother.² The deposed Peshwah had also a further object in retiring to Goozerat. He sought to renew a negotiation which he had for some time had on foot, for obtaining the assistance of the Bombay government. A treaty was finally concluded between these parties on the 6th

¹ [The port of Surat was the cradle of the British commerce in India. The first Englishman to land there was Captain William Hawkins in the *Hector*, 1608 ; and from that time onwards the English, despite the opposition of the Portuguese, strove hard to obtain from the Moghal Court a *farmân* to establish a Factory there. It became the capital of the British Factories in Western India, Bombay, acquired in 1661, was too unhealthy. The life of a man in Bombay, says Ovington, was two monsoons. Surat, however, was exposed to raids. Shivaji sacked it in 1663 and 1670, and Bombay gradually became the leading settlement on the western coast. A curious feature of the transition period was Keigwin's rebellion in 1683-4, when Keigwin held Bombay for the King and refused to acknowledge Sir John Child, the Company's Governor or President, at Surat. See Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion* (Clarendon Press, 1916)]

² [The reader should refer to the genealogical trees at the end of the last chapter]

March, and the English became pledged to the support of Raghoba with a military force. A detachment sailed accordingly from Bombay, in expectation of forming a speedy junction with Raghoba's army in Goozerat. On their arrival at Surat however the English found that their ally had already experienced a serious reverse. He had been compelled by a confederated ministerial army to raise the siege of Baroda and to engage them on the plains of Āras near the river Myhee, where he was totally defeated. The British detachment which was under the command of Colonel Keating proceeded nevertheless to Cambay accompanied by the ex-Peshwah and landed at that place on the 17th March. It was more than a month before they effected a junction at the village of Durmaj, eleven miles north of Cambay, with the fugitive army of Raghoba and it was not until the 3rd May that the united force reached the town of Matur. The direction of their route was now changed. They left Matur on the 5th with the intention of moving towards Poonah and on the 8th reached Nerrud where they remained a week exacting a contribution from the town. The army after quitting Nerrud continued its march towards the Myhee and on the 18th at Āras near that river the fatal scene of Roostum Ulee's defeat and death and of Raghob's former discomfiture an engagement was fought in which the enemy was defeated not however without severe loss to the British detachment. Colonel Keating arrived at Broach on the 29th and, having deposited his wounded in that town made an attempt upon the enemy who were encamped near the Nerbudda. They became aware of his approach through the irregular movements of his Malhatta auxiliaries and throwing their guns into the river retreated along the northern bank. It was now finally resolved to remain in Goozerat during the rainy months and to proceed to Poonah at the commencement of the fair season. The fortress of Dubhoce was the place destined for the winter quarters of the British detachment and on the 8th June Colonel Keating accordingly marched thitherwards from Broach along the banks of the Nerbudda. After an attempt to surprise the enemy, at the ford of Bhāvā Peer the British troops at length quitting the river turned towards Dullac. The monsoon

civil officers of the British government, raising irregular troops, expelled the partisans of Nana Furnuvees from the districts of Surat and Broach. On the 18th of January, the army of General Goddard arrived before Dubhoce, and two days afterwards, a battery being in readiness to open upon the place, it was evacuated during the night by its Mahratta garrison. Iutteh Singh, the acknowledged head of the Guikowar state, with whom negotiations had been already commenced, signed, a few days afterwards, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, in virtue of which he was henceforth to possess the Peshwah's territory, north of the Myhee, ceding at the same time, to the British government, his own lands in the districts of Surat and Broach. General Goddard accordingly, pursued his march to the north, and, on the 10th of February, displayed, for the first time, the British colours before the Moslem capital of Goozerat. The Mahratta governor declining to surrender, a battery was opened on the 12th, and a breach was, on the following evening, declared practicable. From motives of humanity, and the fear of excesses in the city, the assault was during next day delayed, in hopes that the garrison might be induced to surrender. The endeavour was, however, unavailing and, on the morning of the 15th, a forlorn hope, followed by the grenadiers of the Bombay division, rushed up the breach, which the garrison, after a determined stand, and when three hundred of their number had fallen, at length relinquished. The capital of Goozerat was scarcely reduced when Goddard heard of the approach of Sindia and Holkar, who crossed the Nerbudda on the 20th with large bodies of horse, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Baroda. On the British general's marching against them they retired however towards Powanagurh.

Dubhoce, which had been entrusted to the care of Mr James Forbes,¹ of the Civil Service, since known as the author of the *Oriental Memoirs*, was meanwhile surrounded by the Mahratta horse, who encamped within sight of the walls though not within reach of the cannon of the town. The garrison consisted only of three companies of sepoy's commanded by three European officers, a few European artillerymen and fusars with five

¹ [See p. 3, footnote.]

beruks or battalions of Arab and Sindhuan irregular infantry. Two English gentlemen, a civil and a military officer, then hostages in the Mahratta camp, contrived to send a secret message to their countrymen within the town, counselling surrender, and pointing out that all resistance would be vain. Within
 • Dubhooe, however, a different spirit prevailed, and though various articles of capitulation, culled from the Annual Registers and Encyclopædia, which were the principal treasures of James Forbes's scanty library, were looked over, that, in case of necessity, honorable terms might at least have been made, the treatises on fortification, gunnery, and similar subjects were more carefully studied, and preparations were made for strengthening the ramparts, repairing the towers at the Diamond gate, and rendering the old Mahratta guns of service. The approach of General Goddard with his army from Ahmedabad, however, deprived the defenders of Dubhooe of an opportunity of testing the value of their preparations, and the Mahratta army broke up its encampment, and retired.

The war continued with varying fortune through a series of events, only indirectly affecting the interests of Goozerat, until the 17th of May, 1782, on which day a treaty was concluded at Salbhye,¹ under the mediation of Mahadjee Sindia,² between the British and the chiefs of the Mahratta nation. By this treaty, which was not finally ratified until the 24th of February, 1783, the position of the parties in Goozerat was to

¹ [Salbai in Gwahior State, Central India.]

² [Mahadaji Sindia was the foremost chieftain of his time. In 1778 the Bombay Government declared war against the government of Poona, then controlled by Nana Fadnavis and sent a force under Colonel Egerton, who was soon succeeded by Colonel Cockburn, to attack Poona. At Talegaon the English leader, after much vacillation, decided, on January 11, 1779 to retreat, but at Vadgaon (Wargaum) he was brought to bay by Sindia and was allowed to retire on condition that the English relinquished all their conquests since 1773. This disgraceful treaty, commonly known as the 'Convention of Wargaum', was disavowed by the Bombay Government and the Directors in England. Sindia subsequently (1789) gained possession of Delhi and of the Emperor's person, and on his return to the Deccan espoused the cause of the young Peshwa against Nana Fadnavis. He died in 1794,³ and was succeeded by his grandnephew Daulat Rao, who was beaten by Wellesley at the battle of Assaye, 1803.]

revert to that which had existed previous to the war of 1775 ; the territories of the Baroda state were secured from dismemberment, and no claim of tribute was to be preferred by the Peshwa against Lutch Singh for the period during which hostilities had continued. The valuable district of Broach was at the same time bestowed on Muhadajee Sindia 'in testimony,' as was stated at the time by the Governor General in Council, 'of the sense which they entertained of the generous conduct manifested by the said Muhadajee Sindia to the government of Bombay, at Wargaum, in January, 1779, and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen who had been delivered as hostages on that occasion.' Among the pergunnahs of Goozerat thus restored to the Mahrattas were those of Dubhooe and Zinore and the other districts under the jurisdiction of Mr Forbes who was now directed to surrender them to such officer as might be deputed by the Mahratta state to receive them. At the same time the chief and council of Broach were ordered to deliver up that important city and its valuable pergunnah to Bhasker Row, the agent of Muhadajee Sindia. The description which the author of the *Oriental Memoirs* has left us of the surrender of Dubhooe and Broach contains so many characteristic and interesting features that we shall doubtless be excused if we present it in his own words — 'When' says Mr Forbes, 'it was publicly known that Dubhooe and its dependent pergunnahs were to be given up to the Mahratta government and the day approached which was fixed for my departure a deputation from the Brahmuns and principal inhabitants visited me at the durbar and sincerely condoled with me on the change of affairs. They offered presents and were so hurt at my refusing anything tendered for my acceptance, that I was at length induced to mention a gift which I could receive without conscientious scruples if they could bestow it which from delicacy alone I had not before asked. Expressing some surprise, and at the same time manifesting the greatest desire to oblige me, I told them, that as Dubhooe contained many remains of Hindoo antiquity, in broken columns mutilated images, and remnants of basso relievo scattered among dilapidated buildings in the city, I requested they would

‘indulged a vain hope that the intended cession would not
 ‘take place No prayers, no ceremonies, no sacrifices, were
 ‘left unperformed by the different castes and religious pro-
 ‘fessions, to implore the continuance of the British govern-
 ‘ment It is with extreme satisfaction I recollect the unfeigned
 ‘sorrow which pervaded all ranks of society when the fatal
 ‘day was fixed for our departure Broach, before its conquest
 ‘by the English, had belonged to the Moguls, and was governed
 ‘by a Mohammedan nowaub, the inhabitants well knew the
 ‘difference that awaited them Of all oriental despots the
 ‘arbitrary power of the Maluratta falls, perhaps, with the most
 ‘oppressive weight, they extort money by every kind of
 ‘vexatious cruelty, without supporting commerce, agriculture,
 ‘and the usual sources of wealth and prosperity in well governed
 ‘states The Mohammedans, although equally fond of money,
 ‘spend it with more liberality, encourage useful and ornamental
 ‘works, and patronize art and science

‘On the ninth of July, 1783, the day appointed for the
 ‘cession of Broach to Muhadajee Sindia, the chief and council
 ‘received his agent, Bhasker Row, with proper ceremony in
 ‘the durbar, and there delivered to him the keys of the city-
 ‘gates We immediately repaired to the water side, to cross
 ‘the Nerbudda in our way to Surat, and were silently followed
 ‘by the principal inhabitants of the city While embarking
 ‘on the Company’s yacht, a dark cloud passed over us, and
 ‘a shower of rain fell, our afflicted friends, no longer able to
 ‘keep silence, and forgetting the impending terrors of a
 ‘Mahratta despot, pathetically exclaimed, “These drops are
 ‘the tears of heaven for the fate of Broach !”

I oppose this fact to a thousand unfounded prejudices, and
 unsupported calumnies, against the English, which were once
 ‘so easily credited in Europe Among the many who occupy
 ‘eminent stations in India, some, no doubt, deserve censure
 ‘the characters of all who fill similar situations at home are
 ‘not immaculate the temptations of wealth and power some
 ‘times subdue the strongest minds, but the hour approaches
 ‘when they cease to charm, and when a conscience “void of
 ‘offence” will be the only comfort Whether the European
 ‘or Indian peculator is now amenable to human laws or not,

'a secret monitor corrodes every present joy, and an unerring judge hereafter will avenge the breach of his own laws, established in truth and equity ! The general opprobrium was unjust on a set of men whose prevailing characteristics were philanthropy, generosity, and benevolence'

* Broach remained in the possession of Sindia from this period until the time when that chieftain engaged in war with the British government. It was taken from him by storm, by a part of the Baroda subsidiary force under the command of Colonel Woodington, on the 29th August, 1803

Putteh Singh Guikowar died in consequence of a fall from the upper story of his house, on the 21st December, 1789. A contest for the regency now occurred between Manajee, the full brother of Putteh Singh, and Gowind Row, which was only set at rest about four years afterwards by the death of Manajee. Though his title was now undisputed Gowind Row Guikowar found it, nevertheless, difficult to obtain permission to quit the Peshwa's capital¹. Nana Irmavees sought to impose upon him stipulations to the advantage of the Poona government, in addition to those exorbitant ones which had been already forced upon his family. The British government, however, intervened to prevent a dismemberment of the Guikowar territories contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of Salbhye, and the Irmavees admitting the validity of their objections, Gowind Row was at last permitted to depart, for the purpose of assuming the regency at Baroda, on the 10th December, 1793

Gowind Row Guikowar died in September, 1800. He had been at war for two years with Aba Shelookur, the deputy of Chunnajee Appa Bajee Row Peshwa's brother as Governor of Gozerat. Shelookur during the term of his government made himself most obnoxious to the people by his tyrannies and exactions. The house now employed as the Session Court at Ahmedabad, was built by him on the foundations of royal buildings of the Mohammedan sultans and at the expense of the population whose materials he seized or whose labour he compelled. Among other cruel deeds, he is accused of having

¹ [Govindrao had been captured by the Peshwa Madhavrao I in 1768 near Dhodap together with his father and taken to Poona.]

CHAPTER III

ÂNUND ROW GUKOWÂR ¹

THE death of the Muhârâjâ Gowind Row Gukowâr having occurred after midnight, on the 19th of September, 1800, Bâbâjee Appâjee and Meer Kumâl ood-deen Khân, the principal military officers present, joined with the two great bankers, Mungul Pâreckhî and Sâmul Beclur, who held the Arab mercenaries in dependence, to effect a settlement of affairs. Early in the morning the ladies of the family were all assembled, and Ghenâ Bâee, the widow of the Muhârâjâ a Jhâlâ Rajpoot lady of the house of Jagtur, declared her intention of burning with the corpse of her husband. From this step she was, however, dissuaded by the officers who assured her, taking oaths to that effect on the Korân or in Hindoo modes, that they were determined to maintain the honor and influence which she enjoyed during the life-time of her husband. The corpse of Gowind Row was now carried to the funeral pyre, and Ânund Row, his eldest legitimate son, commenced his reign. Rowjee Appâjee, the late Gowind Row's minister, soon after arrived from Ahmedabad, and resumed the administration of affairs. The minister's first endeavour was to prevail upon the bankers and officers to take means for restraining the ambition of Kânhojee Row, an illegitimate son of the late raja, whom he accused of having already rused disturbances in the life time of his father. This proposition was not, however, assented to; and, soon after, Kânhojee Row, with the aid of some of the officers who adhered to his party, made himself master of the government, and of the person of his brother, Ânund Row Gukowâr. The tyrannical disposition of Kânhojee now had full opportunity for exhibiting itself. He conducted himself with so much violence towards all the officers of the government, and with so much contempt, if not actual severity, towards the Raja *

¹ We depend henceforth upon bardic authority, and upon the unpublished papers in the Record Room at the East India House, in London

Major Walker was instructed to proceed in the first place to Baroda with the Gukowar vakeels, his ostensible mission being that of presenting compliments and condolence, on the part of the British government, to the Mulharaj Anund Row, on the death of his father, this ceremony having been delayed pending the cession of the Chourasee and chouth. His real object was to ascertain the true state of Anund Row's mind, and whether Hunmunt Row, the son of that prince, had received his father's consent to his joining the army under Babjee. The military detachment was in the meantime to proceed by sea to Cambay, and to be joined there by Major Walker on the termination of his mission to Baroda.

Major Walker left Surat on the 24th of January, 1802, and reached Baroda on the 29th. The mission passed through Broach, where it was received with distinction by Sindia's officers. A deputation from the minister met them at the distance of a few miles from Baroda, and at a kos from the town, they found Rowjee Appajee, attended by all the civil and military officers, waiting to receive them in a spot where carpets had been spread, in the open air, for the meeting. Major Walker was presented to every person of consequence, including the Arab Jemâdars, the whole displaying the greatest cordiality. He proceeded thence to Baroda where he was conducted to a suite of tents that had been prepared for him, a body of troops receiving him with rested arms, and a salute being fired from some field pieces on the spot. Next day, the minister repeated his visit to the British envoy, and at once exhibited his great anxiety for the reduction of Kuree and the total expulsion of Mulhar Row. The British envoy, unwilling to discuss the matter at that time, turned the conversation to the subject of the supplies required for the efficiency of the detachment at Cambay. It was agreed at this interview, that Major Walker should attend the Mulharajâ that afternoon. This design was, however, prevented by Anund Row's declaring that he felt it incumbent on him to pay the first visit. Major Walker, in return for this courtesy, met the Gukowar prince on the road, and Anund Row, descending from his elephant, embraced him, and proceeded with him to the tents. The raja was attended by all the officers of his court, and by an escort

of horse and foot, and was received with a salute of artillery. He retired, at Major Walker's request *into a private apartment, with such of his sirdars and chiefs as he selected to accompany him. The governor's compliments and message of condolence on the death of the late Gowind Row were now offered. The Muharajî received them without the least attention, and it was soon apparent to the envoy, that his mind was in a state which incapacitated him for close application of any kind. The following graphic description of the scene which ensued is given in Major Walker's own words —

' Anund Row appears about thirty or forty years of age, of
' a robust person, and a body that has no visible signs of
' feebleness, but an unmeaning countenance and heavy eyes
' betray at once, perhaps a natural imbecility, and the ruinous
' effects of intoxicating drugs to which he is said to be addicted.
' Probably both these means operate to depress the mind of
' this prince, but his incapacity for business is here imputed more
' to the pernicious habit of smoking bang, than to constitutional
' weakness. Notwithstanding these marks of mental debility,
' Anund Row appeared in possession of his recollection, he
' named several of his officers, and was not without a general
' knowledge of the affairs of his state. If at any time he
' appeared embarrassed, Rowjee and Kumal ood deen were
' always ready to assist. The ornaments for his person were
' the only part of the presents that engaged any part of his
' attention. He repeatedly adjusted the surpech¹ to his turban,
' and removed the dustbund² from his wrist to his ângrukhâ³.
' Agha Mohummed's watch attracted his notice, and he
' examined it childishly. Towards the conclusion of the inter-
' view, he appeared for a moment to recover himself, and
' observed that he had many enemies, who spread false reports
' of his situation and of the state of his mind, but that he
' hoped by my means the governor would be undeceived, and

¹ [surpech, sarפש] a jewelled ornament worn on the front of the turban.]

² [dastband, hand fastening, an ornament worn on the back of the hand.]

³ The ângrukhâ is a body coat. the meaning is that he pulled the sleeve of his coat under the bracelet on his wrist. not an uncommon mode of fidgeting. [The Marathi word is angarkhâ.]

‘that I would write him the truth. In this request, Rowjee and Kumal ood deest repeatedly joined, observing it was now easy to see how much the rya had been injured by report. Anund Row next adverted to the hostility of Mulhar Row, and expressed his expectation that the major would hasten to punish his enemies. He mentioned several times their expulsion from Kuree, as an object which he earnestly desired, this desire was re-echoed by the attendants. The rya was assured that the Company’s government had the advantage of the Gukowar states always in view, and that the justice of his cause and the English forces would effectually protect him against his enemies. During this interview, the Raja Anund Row conducted himself with humility, frequently declaring his dependence on the English government, and his respect and attachment to the Company, founded on the intimate connection formed by his ancestors. After the customary offering of rose water and betel, the Gukowar Anund Row took his leave and returned.’

On the 1st of February, the envoy visited the Mularaja in his palace. ‘The demeanour of the prince,’ says Major Walker ‘was much more collected than on the former day, he was cheerful and the stupidity of his first appearance seemed to give way to a considerable share of benevolence, and even of intelligence. After the public conversation, Anund Row presented the mission with presents and requested our attendance in a private apartment. An indiscriminate number of the leading men, with their attendants forced themselves into the apartment. Anund Row pronounced an eulogium upon Rowjee and evinced a strong desire to inflict a due punishment upon Mulhar Row. He said that the presence of his son Hunmunt Row, with the army was entirely his own act. mentioned that he was twelve years of age and spoke of him with satisfaction. He positively denied that Mulhar Row had in any manner obtained his sanction to prosecute war, but when he was asked whether Kanhjee was imprisoned with his consent he made no reply, he hung down his head, rolled his eyes and maintained an expressive silence. The officers then attempted to answer for him that he still remained silent. He whispered to me,

'that the Arab Jemādars were all his mortal enemies, and
'that they would not permit him to converse freely. The
'mission soon after retired' Major Walker was afterwards
informed by the Mahrāja's confidant, Mungul Pareekh that
it was a religious feeling which made him silent when ques-
tioned respecting the confinement of Kanhojee. He had con-
tinued to consider the imprisonment of his brother as a crime
and an act of impiety notwithstanding the public necessity for
it, and when the event first happened he had allowed his beard
to grow as a sign of mourning and had for a long period
afflicted himself with mortifications.

The Guikowar government as it appeared to Major Walker,
was in so absolute a state of weakness and disorder that it must
have dissolved unless strengthened by external support. The
confusion of authorities and the misery thereby entailed upon
the people, were hardly to be conceived—nothing but the
absence of order everywhere prevailed, the pay of all depart-
ments was in arrears the country was mortgaged to money
lenders who collected from it what they pleased, a single
mercenary leader travelled about with more authority than the
prince, and an armed aristocracy had possessed themselves of
the government holding the Mahrāja himself completely under
their control while from their own administrative incapability
they were in their turn wholly in the hands of the bankers.
The expenditure at this time of the Guikowar government
exceeded its means by four or five lakhs of rupees during the
year. The minister Rowjee Appjee, was a person fitted by
his acuteness and prudence for the management of public
business but he had been familiar with revolutions having
witnessed or taken part in the changes that during forty
years had shaken the numerous branches of the Mahratta
empire. His character had thus become tinged with suspicion
his caution degenerated sometimes into timidity he was not
at liberty to pursue his own plans and wanted firmness to
wrest their usurped power from the Arab officers. He appeared
sometimes to distrust the intentions of the British while at
others he exhibited a degree of candour and openness in his
conversation which had all the appearance of security. The
Deewān was said to be frequently too communicative, and to

prejudice, by this disposition, both his own affairs and those of the state

The Arabs were, in Major Walker's opinion, the only material obstacle to the complete establishment of the British influence in Goozerat, but he did not consider them to be in reality formidable. Though they were brave, their ferocity rendered them incapable of subordination, though they were attached to individual chiefs, that very attachment prevented their union under any common system. Their real number was less than seven thousand, of whom no more than one thousand were concentrated in any single position. About a fourth part only of these were natives of Arabia the remainder were men of Arabian extraction, but born themselves in Goozerat. Their arms, which were chiefly match locks were bad, and their knowledge of war was contemptible, of the forts which were in their possession, Baroda, considered to be the best, was in no state to resist a regular attack. Two battalions of British troops stationed at Baroda were sufficient, Major Walker thought, effectually to counterpoise the power of these mercenaries and he was sanguine that when their influence was thus reduced their situation would appear to themselves to be less desirable, and their numbers would decline. The Arabs were divided into two parties at the head of which were the bankers, Mungul Parcekh and Sumul Beehur. The latter was reputed to possess a cunning, avaricious and intriguing disposition. He was not well affected towards the British, and the party of Arabs which was under his control was the more numerous.

Rowjee was at first very much dissatisfied when he learnt that the British government had it in view to accommodate matters with Mulhar Row, instead of punishing him by military force. He contended that nothing was to be done without taking Kurrce. Major Walker urged in reply, that this mode of proceeding might be the means of perpetuating the disorder of the country for, although it would be an easy matter to take Kurrce Mulhar Row would probably escape and, for a length of time, harass the borders by a predatory warfare. Rowjee said that it was his intention to request that two of the British battalions should remain to prevent the enemy's return, and

added, that he proposed to repay this assistance by the cession of a convenient tract of country on the sea coast. Kuree should, he said, be taken, with all Mulhâr Row's country, elephants, and horses; and a jâgheer, worth a lakh of rupees annually, might then be assigned to that chief in a different part of the country. The British envoy was, however, instructed to demand that the fullest authority should be given to him to settle disputes in an equitable manner, and it was intimated that if Rowjee were determined, at all events, on the extirpation of Mulhâr Row, it would be better, perhaps, that British intervention should proceed no further, and that the troops should be recalled. Rowjee, at length, professed that he would be satisfied if the English force would only encamp for a day or two within the limits of the Kuree Jâgheerdâr, in return for that chieftain's invasion of the territories of the Baroda state; he further offered to resign a large portion of the tribute payable by Mulhâr Row, provided that concession would ensure a peaceable demeanour on his part.

The opinions of Major Walker, as reported to his government, were, that justice and policy alike warranted the punishment of Mulhâr Row should he decline to make submission to his sovereign. Holding his jâgheer as a vassal of the Mulhârâjâ, that chief had withheld the payment of his tribute, and when called to account, had taken up arms under pretence of defending himself against a foreign enemy, and notwithstanding a declaration to the contrary, had been guilty of aggressions against his sovereign with the ultimate view of dethroning him. Little weight could be allowed to Mulhâr Row's pretext that he was in arms in behalf of Kanhojee, as that prince had no real claim to the throne, and as Mulhâr Row himself had acquiesced in his deposition, and even celebrated it by a discharge of artillery. His invasion of the Gunkowar territory was also long posterior to that event, and it was accompanied neither by any declaration of hostility, nor even by any previous complaint. If Mulhâr Row remained obstinate the task of reducing him would be a popular one, and its successful accomplishment must necessarily be followed by the acceptance of a subsidiary force. It was, perhaps, even necessary to this object that the British should perform a service which would

be at once apparent, and after a successful expedition to Kuree, the detachment, or a similar body of troops, might, by an easy arrangement, be moved to Baroda, and firmly established there.

The envoy quitted Baroda on the afternoon of the 8th of February, having been completely successful in his mission. Bâbâjee with the Guikowâr forces were put under his command, and he was fully authorized, in case of Mulhâr Row's applying for peace, to act in such a manner as he might deem suitable to the interests and safety of the government of the Mubârâjâ.

CHAPTER IV

MULHAR ROW GURKOWAR

It we have given a more detailed account of these negotiations than may seem to be consistent with the character of our work, our excuse will be found in the fact, that upon them really hinged the future fate of Goozerat. Had the aid of the British been rejected, and had the troops advanced no further than Cambay, the territories of the Baroda government must inevitably have fast relapsed into a state of miserable anarchy and confusion similar to that in which the dominions of Holkar and Sindia were subsequently involved. As it was, affairs progressed rapidly towards that settlement which formed the ground work of all future political relations in Goozerat.

The British detachment disembarked at Cambay, from Surat, on the morning of the 2nd of February, and encamped in an open spot which in 1775, had been occupied by the troops of Colonel Keating, contiguous to the reservoir called Narayun Sur, a garden house being assigned for the accommodation of the head quarters. The forces of Babjee and Mulhar Row were meanwhile engaged in desultory and indecisive skirmishes, while negotiations, as profitless as the hostilities, still continued. Mulhar Row's troops numbered altogether, it was said, about fifteen thousand men.¹ Shivram,² who was the only officer of consequence, commanded about seven hundred Hindoostanees, who affected the semblance of regular discipline, he led also three hundred or four hundred Mahratta horse. An Englishman, named Parker, commanded a corps called the 'Gosaeen's wife's troops,' and one Joaquim, a Portuguese, led about two hundred men, among whom he had attempted to introduce some order, so that 'a few were in red jackets, but 'the greater part went agreeable to their own fancy' as Parker

¹ This was Parker's account, though he himself varied in his statement. Major Walker estimated them at from ten to twelve thousand horse and foot with ten or fifteen pieces of artillery, mostly of small calibre.

² [See note on Chapter IX, *infra*]

writes, 'both in dress and fighting.' Sindhis and Pathâns, Kâtees and Koolcees made up the rest of this heterogeneous army. The latter, who were 'armed horse,' wearing the antique tunic of chain armour, were under the command of 'a famous leader, called *Doobat Singh*, who had lately distinguished himself in two or three skirmishes with Bâbâjee's 'troops,' and whom we shall hereafter introduce to our readers as the notorious Thâkurâ of Bhunkora. Bhooput Singh, though now the most distinguished of his partisans, had formerly been the constant enemy of Mulhâr Row. During the administration of Kânhojee he had been sent for to Baroda to be employed, as it was said, against the Jâgheerdâr of Kuree, but happening to be taken into custody at the same time that Kânhojee was seized, he had been released by Rowjee, lest he should, from future resentment, proceed to attack the territories of Mulhâr Row.

The 22nd of February had arrived without any step in advance having been made by the British troops. Meanwhile, Mulhâr Row had been carrying on, with the Arab officers, intrigues which had for their object the release of Kânhojee, while the adherents of the opposite party were dispirited by the delay made by the English, and by the fact that the resident at Cambay had despatched an agent to Kuree. Mulhâr Row refused to disarm his troops, or to give up Vetsalnugger and the other places seized by him, which concessions, on his part, were deemed to be indispensable preliminaries to an arrangement. Mr. Duncan, who was now at Cambay, determined, at length, to direct the detachment to march at once, with a view of forming a junction with the army of Bâbâjee. Mulhâr Row was informed that the troops advanced to release from his grasp those parts of the Mulharâjâ's country which he had unjustly taken possession of; he was to be allowed, however, in case of his surrendering them, to come in to Mr. Duncan with an escort of not more than one hundred men, and was informed that he must expect no other terms. Major Walker marched, accordingly, on the 23rd; reached Ahmedabad on the 4th of March; and next day was at Uddlej, where he left his heavy baggage and sick under a guard. Mulhâr Row still continuing to negotiate, without affording any satisfactory proof of his sincerity, the British detachment entered the Kuree territory

on the 10th leaving behind them the Guikowar troops whose irregularities might have afforded ground of complaint. They encamped at Seretah at which place Mulhār Row of his own accord proposed to have an interview with Major Walker. The meeting took place accordingly but was attended by circumstances such as to the mind of the British commander precluded every hope of a peaceable adjustment. The insincerity and distrust of Mulhār Row were established by the extraordinary number of armed attendants with which he appeared at the interview amounting to more than two thousand horse and foot with three pieces of artillery. He also evaded his proposed visit to the British camp and would proceed no further than a place two miles from the camp where an awning had been spread for the preliminary interchange of compliments. Next evening however Mulhār Row after many excuses visited Major Walker when he promised immediately to disband his new levies and to comply in every point with the wishes of the British government. He urged however that to save his dignity the terms should be arranged privately through confidential agents a request with which Major Walker complied. The terms demanded were that Mulhār Row should make full satisfaction to the Muharaja by an entire restitution of all his conquests by restoring to freedom all Guikowar subjects who had been seized by him and repaying all sums levied from them by arranging for the payment of his arrears of tribute and of the expenses of the war and by giving security for future good conduct. His new levies were to be disbanded and his ordinary forces drawn within the walls of Kuree in the vicinity of which town the British army was to encamp until such time as Major Walker should be satisfied of his sincerity. The British troops it was settled were to move at once to Kulol the Guikowar forces following at an interval and the commanding officer was at that place to have a final interview with Mulhār Row. Major Walker having arrived on the 15th at Kulol found the place deserted and meeting with no intelligence of Mulhār Row advanced on the 16th to Boodasun a village about three miles distant from Kuree. On the approach of the British troops a few of Mulhār Row's horse were observed who retired immediately without committing any act of hostility. An adjoining height was soon

taken possession of, and a picket, with a field piece, was placed in the most commanding position. From the heights thus occupied, Major Walker had a full view of Kuree, with the camp of Mulhar Row and the whole of his army, which appeared in motion, spreading itself over the plains. The fort of Kuree was small and irregular, it possessed four gates, of which one only, the Lutteh gate, was protected by defences newly raised, and mounted with cannon. The residence of Mulhar Row, inclosed in a sort of citadel, was conspicuous from a distance, especially its large minaret like tower, the open pavilion, on the summit of which, commanded a good view of the surrounding country. About noon, messengers arrived from Mulhar Row, who presented letters expressing sentiments of so much moderation, if not submission, that Major Walker was far from suspecting that they were to be made the cloak of an act of treachery. An answer was despatched by the hands of a native agent named Soondurjee, and of Captain Williams, an officer of the detachment. They had not been gone twenty minutes, and had hardly time to reach the outposts of Mulhar Row's army, when they were made prisoners, and two guns belonging to that chieftain immediately opened fire upon the British camp. Major Walker held a short consultation with the chiefs of the allies, assigned them their places, and arranged with them that the whole force should advance and assault the enemy's camp. Kumal-ood deen Khan, reinforced to nearly a thousand horse, formed, accordingly, on the right flank of the British detachment, while Bábajee himself, with the infantry, the rest of the cavalry, and some artillery, was appointed to move on the left. The British detachment, on the allies giving notice of their readiness, began, between two and three o'clock, to advance in line with its field pieces, two howitzers, and two eighteen pounders. It moved forward slowly, but in excellent order, inclining to the right, in order to gain some heights, and to reach the front of the main body of the enemy. The fire of Mulhar Row's artillery increased as the British advanced, and the ground was unfortunately favourable to its effect. About five o'clock, however, Major Walker found himself opposite to the enemy's encampment, in full view of it, and about half a mile distant. He was now anxious to have carried out the assault which he had

meditated, but a report was at this time brought to him, that Babajee's division had advanced little beyond their encampment, and that his Arabs refused to move in the direction of the British troops, while it became at the same time evident that Kumal-ood-deen, who had for a time continued to maintain pretty well the station allotted to him, had now fallen behind, and was unable to keep that flank clear against the superior bodies of the enemy's cavalry. Major Walker was now compelled to relinquish his meditated enterprise, which, without the effectual support of the allies, was of too hazardous a nature, he therefore inclined still further to the right, a step which while it removed the detachment gradually to a greater distance from the enemy's fire, enabled it also to occupy some rising ground which was possessed by bodies of their horse. In this position the detachment halted until dusk when it returned, without any interruption from the enemy, to its former encampment. The loss of the enemy was reported to have been considerable, but the casualties on the British side were also heavy. Lieutenant Creagh, of His Majesty's 80th Regiment and Captains Mac Donald and Lovell, of the Honorable Company's service, were killed. The total loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and forty six, twenty five of whom were Europeans and a six pounder, the carriage of which had fallen to pieces was left upon the field.

Major Walker was now satisfied that the war could not with the forces at his disposal, be terminated by a *coup de main*. He resolved therefore, to adopt the system of the Mahrattas themselves, and agreed after consulting with Babajee, to erect batteries and to proceed against the enemy's camp as if it were a fortified town. Meanwhile Mr Duncan at Cambay and his colleagues at the Presidency, exerted themselves to push forwards the largest reinforcements which could be assembled. The whole of the disposable force at Bombay was immediately embarked and a pressing requisition made to Colonel Sir William Clarke the British commanding officer at Goa, to join the army before Kuree with the European brigade under his orders and a battalion of native infantry. His Majesty's ships *Intrepid* and *Terpsichore* the Honorable Company's ship *Cornwallis* and the *Upton Castle* were employed to convey the additional troops to the northwards.

For some time a desultory warfare continued before Kuree, the enemy for the most part respecting Major Walker's force, and directing their hostility chiefly against the army of the Gukowar commanders. Major Walker, on the other hand, finding that his own ammunition was insufficient, that the artillery of Bibjee's army was unserviceable, and that that leader's troops if not actually wanting in courage, nor destitute of fidelity, were still lukewarm and far less disposed to the cause they had espoused than the brave, though undisciplined Puthans, Gosreens and Koolees who composed the force of Mulhar Row, deemed it his duty to confine himself to defensive measures, or at least to undertake no enterprise which his detachment could not execute without the support of the allies. Negotiations were at the same time, going on between Major Walker and Mulhar Row. The former who was anxious to relieve Captain Williams from the ill treatment to which as a captive he was exposed, even made concessions, but Mulhar Row only rose in his terms, and the whole conference was productive of no effect.

Sir William Clarke arrived and took command at Cambray on the 12th April. It had at first been intended that the detachments as they landed should have been sent on at once, but it was ascertained that a thousand of the enemy's horse under Bhooput Singh of Bhunkora lay in wait to intercept them, and it was judged prudent to avoid the risk. Sir William Clarke therefore marched with the whole force and joined Major Walker at Boodasun on the 24th April, when he found himself at the head of a body of troops which independently of the allies amounted to between five and six thousand men, more than two thousand of whom were Europeans. The first task of the British commander was to despatch a message to Mulhar Row offering him for the last time an opportunity of peaceably submitting to the terms which had been demanded of him. During the consultation which was held at Mulhar Row's when the news of Sir William Clarke's arrival was announced, Mookurel Row Gukowar upbraided Shivrām Bhooput Singh and the chief of the Puthans with having prevented the peaceable settlement of affairs and stigmatized them as the authors of the approaching calamity. The other leaders of the party 'looked at each other with much concern,'

Mulhar Row himself was fearful and agitated, but, for whatever reason, no answer was returned to the summons, and affairs were allowed to take their course. Preparatory to an attack on the town of Kuree, Sir William Clarke found it necessary to disperse the army of the enemy, which was strongly intrenched in its front. The strongest of these works was a battery with a cavalier, forming the right of the enemy's position, defended, as it was said, by twelve hundred or fourteen hundred Puthâns, commanded by an European officer. On the 30th April, a force, consisting of His Majesty's 75th Regiment with the flank companies of the 84th and the Honorable Company's grenadier battalion supported by the remainder of the 84th Regiment and four guns the whole under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Woodington, prepared to attack this post, they arrived unperceived in the rear of the battery just as the day broke and immediately carried it at the point of the bayonet. Some of the captured guns were instantly directed against the enemy. The British troops vigorously pursued their advantage, and the whole of the intrenchments in front of Kuree were before eleven o'clock, in their possession while the army which had attempted the defence was completely routed and dispersed. This success would have been effected, in so far as the resistance of the enemy had been concerned with inconsiderable loss but a tumbril, loaded with ammunition which had been taken from Mulhar Row's troops unfortunately exploded and was the cause of nearly the whole of the casualties which occurred.¹ Mulhar Row's camp and the neighbouring village of Cudale were plundered and set on fire, and his

¹ The following is the

Return of Killed and Wounded

Europeans	killed	97	wounded	82	104	} 162
Natives		6		5	58	
	including					

Officers Killed

Lieutenant Francis Ivie	Her Majesty's 84th Regiment
David Price	86th

Officers Wounded

Lieutenant Henry Polcher	1st (or Grenadier) Battalion
Henry Roome	1st Battal on 6th Regiment

troops, flying to the gates of the town, found them barricaded against their entrance, and received orders to disperse. They re-formed for a moment on the opposite side of Kuree, but were soon again in the greatest confusion. In the moment of alarm Mulhâr Row released Captain Williams, whom he had treacherously seized and detained and that officer, accompanied by Soondurjee, arrived in the evening at the British camp.

Babâjee, who immediately despatched an account of this success to his brother, was in raptures with the valour of his allies, and the happy prospect thereby opened to himself and his friends. 'I was quite astonished, Baba Sâhib!' he says, 'to see the manner in which the English fought. I do not suppose anybody in the world can fight like them. They completed their intention in six hours, and Kuree, by the good fortune of Shreemunt, must fall in two days. From Cudale to Kuree is about half a kos. The English line is close to the ditch. The effect of bringing the English here will diffuse a proper and just sense of your wisdom, and will make them respected and feared, not only by your enemies but by all the world, for their great bravery, by which means all our care is over for now we shall have it in our power to do all we like.'

The release of Captain Williams and Soondurjee by Mulhar Row, led to a further intimation to him from Sir William Clarke, and the day after the action that chief, having sent word that he would surrender, a small party was by his own desire sent to one of the gates of the town to escort him into the British camp. He had even taken his place in the palanquin at the gateway when he was prevented from proceeding by the remonstrances and apparent resistance of his own people. A breaching battery was therefore commenced and made rapid progress and on the 3rd of May, Mulhar Row actually surrendered himself on no other terms than those of safety to himself and family. Two days afterwards the fort of Kuree was completely evacuated by the enemy and taken possession of by the allied forces, the British and Gutkowar flags being displayed together thereon. It was found to contain thirty seven pieces of ordnance of various calibre besides elephants, camels, and a great quantity of ammunition and stores.

The fall of Kuree was immediately followed by the establish

ment of British influence at Baroda. As early as the month of March a convention had been concluded between Mr Duncan and Rowjee Appjee, by which the Guikowar state confirmed for ever its cession of the Chourasee pergunnah and the chouth, and assigned in security for the payment of the expenses of the British troops, its share of the Uttaveesee district, near Surat. By a secret article which was not to be carried into effect until the end of the war the Baroda government also agreed to permanently subsidize about two thousand native infantry, one company of European artillery and its proportion of *Lascars*; the expenses of which force were also to be made good by an assignment of territory in such part of the Guikowar dominions as might best suit the convenience of the contracting parties. The Arab force was also to be reduced. On the 4th of June, the government of Anund Row Guikowar in testimony of their sense of the assistance offered to them by the British, made a free present to the Company of the district of Cheeklee in the Surat Uttaveesee and two days afterwards a further agreement was entered into by which the convention of March and the cession of Cheeklee were formally confirmed and it was provided that the British government should advance money for the payment of the Arabs who were to be reduced — the loan being secured on the pergunnahs of Baroda, *Korul Zonore Pithul and Ahmedabad*. On the same day a deed was executed by Muharaja Anund Row in which he agreed to assign the pergunnah of Dholka towards defraying the charges of the subsidiary force for future services and to place it in possession of the British from the commencement of the Hindoo year 1860 (A D 1804). A further bond was at the same time passed for the expenses of the troops during the first year, being 780 000 rupees. It stipulated a '*jaydad*'¹ or assignment of land for 50 000 rupees in the villages of Nerriad and pledged for the discharge of the balance the revenue of Kurree with the Moolukgeeree collections from Kāteewar for the years 1857-8 (A D 1801-2). On the 7th of June Major Walker was directed to enter upon his duties as resident at Baroda. He arrived accordingly at that place on the 11th

¹ [*Jaidid* that which gives place or position an assignment of revenue for the maintenance of an establishment, or of troops.]

July, and was received with great attention by the Guikowâr government. His tents were pitched, at Rowjee's suggestion, in a suburban garden within sight of the minister's own residence, and in that situation he hoisted the British flag.

A few days before, news had arrived of the successful termination of a second revolt against the government of Anund Row. Gunput Row, a relative of the Guikowâr family, had long ago endeavoured to possess himself of the supreme power in preference to the late Muhârâjâ Gowind Row, notwithstanding which, the good nature and easy temper of that prince had assigned to him the small district and stronghold of Sunkheira, at a moderate revenue, which he had of late withheld, intending, in co-operation with Mulhâr Row, to establish his independence. Since the fall of Kuree he had, however, been compelled to shut himself up in his castle, which, though mounting only a couple of guns, and otherwise contemptible in point of means of defence, had sustained an attack by the Guikowâr troops. Gunput Row had also been joined by Morâr Row, one of the illegitimate brothers of the Muhârâjâ. A detachment of British troops under Captain Bethune soon joined the Guikowâr force, and on the 7th July the fort of Sunkheira surrendered under a capitulation, which secured the lives and private property of the garrison. Gunput Row and Morâr Row had, however, escaped on foot, with a few attendants, the night preceding the capitulation, and now took refuge at Dhâr, with Bappoo Powâr, a son-in-law of the late Gowind Row, and a considerable Jâgheerdâr in Malwa.

The attention of both the Guikowâr ministry and the British resident was now for some months occupied in the difficult task of dispersing the Arab militia, who had for so many years controlled every movement of the state. Into the details of these transactions it is unnecessary for us to enter,—sufficient to observe that the aid of British troops was found indispensable, and that the Arab chiefs, besieged in the town of Baroda, were at length compelled to capitulate to a force under the command of Colonel Woodington, on the 26th December, 1802.

The steps by which British influence was introduced into Goozerat have thus been sketched. We may take the present opportunity of briefly noticing its future progress.

A definitive treaty of general defensive alliance was concluded with the Guikowār on the 21st April, 1805, for the purpose of consolidating the stipulations contained in preceding agreements, and making some additions and alterations which were deemed expedient. The Guikowār had previously received a subsidiary force of two thousand men, and he now engaged to maintain three thousand, who were to be stationed within his territory, but employed only on occasions of importance. Districts yielding 11,70,000 rupees were assigned for their support. The districts of Chourāsee, Cheeklee, and Kaira together with the chouth of Surat, were ceded to the British and the revenue of other districts was appropriated for liquidating the debt due to them by the Guikowār's government.¹

¹ The following is a 'Statement of the cessions from the government of Anund Row Guikowār and Jaydad to the Hon East India Company, being one of the papers by Gungidhur Shāshtrī appended to Colonel Walker's Report of 1st January, 1806

<i>Names</i>	<i>rupees.</i>
Killahdary of Kaira	42 000
Pergunnah of Cheeklee	70 000
Chouth of Surat Bunder	50 000
Pergunnah of Chourāsee	90 000
	———— 2 52 000
<i>Jaydad</i>	
Pergunnah of Nerrāi	17 000
Dholka	450 000
Beejāpoor	130 000
Matur	130 000
Moondah	110 000
Tuppa of Kuree Pergunnah	20 000
Customs of Kimkatodrah ^a	50 000
Annual Wurats ^b on Kāteewar	1 00 000
	———— 11 70 000
	———— 14 22 000

^a [Kimkatodra is a double name. Kim is a station on the B B C I Railway, eleven miles from Surat. Katodra is probably *Karodra*, the *Crowda* of Roo (Foster, *Embassy*, p. 503), eleven miles from Surat on the Burhanpur road.]

^b [Wurats = *Barat* (Persian), an assignment on revenue. See *English Factories*, 1618-21, i. 201, note 322, &c. They are the securities from bankers, p. 54 line 1.]

No settlement between the governments of Baroda and Poonah had taken place since the accession of Gowind Row. On the suppression of the rebellion of Abā Sheelokar, the Gaikowār agreed to hold Ahmedābad in fann from the Peshwah, including the tribute of Kāteewār, with the districts of Pilsid, Napir, Choorā-Rānpoor, Dhundhooka, and Gogo, and some rights in Cambay. By the treaty of Bassein, however, the districts of Rānpoor, Gogo, and Dhundhooka, and the Peshwah's rights in Cambay, were ceded to the British government. A lease of the remainder was granted by the Poonah government to the Gaikowār for ten years, from June, 1801. But on the expiration of this term, the proposed renewal of the lease was positively rejected by the Peshwah, who had now become anxious to increase his political influence in Gooverat and Trimbukjee Dānglia,¹ in 1815, having obtained the appointment of Sur Soubahdār, took possession of the districts in that province in the Peshwah's name, and began to use the influence thus obtained in intriguing against the British power. By the treaty of Poonah, in 1817, the Peshwah, however, bound himself to disavow this turbulent chieftain, he relinquished at the same time all future demands on the Gaikowār,

¹ [Trimbakji Denglia was originally a *jauz* or confidential messenger of the last Peshwa. About 1812 he became the *ama dāmnée* of that Prince, and the leader of the low favourites who surrounded Bipsao in the court at Poona, encouraging him in the vices and the anti British policy which led to his overthrow. Trimbakji was made Sarsulhā of Ahmedābād in 1814, and soon became notorious for his cruelty. At the same time he began intriguing with the Baroda Darbar against the English. His crimes reached a head when he hired braves to murder in the open street at Pandharpur, Gangadhar Sastri, the Gaikowār's envoy to the Peshwa's court, whose safety had been guaranteed by the British Government. For this the Peshwa was forced to surrender Trimbakji, who was confined in the Thina Jail. In 1816, however, he escaped in a romantic fashion with the aid of a spy or groom, and fled to the Dekhan hills, where he soon commenced a guerilla warfare with the Peshwa's connivance. This was ended by the treaty of Poona in 1817. He took a prominent part in the last Marātha war, notably at the battle of Koregāon and after the Peshwa's surrender in 1818, was hunted down in Khandesh and sent a prisoner to Bengal. Some account of this picturesque scoundrel will be found in that brilliant but forgotten novel *Pandurang Var*, by W. B. Hockley, which contains perhaps the best sketch ever written of contemporary life in the Dekhan.]

and compromised all past claims, and he ceded his revenue in Goozerat, with the exception of Oolpār, to the British government.

On the 6th November, in the same year, a further treaty was concluded at Baroda, by which the Guikowar, who had secured important advantages by the treaty of Poona, acceded to a plan for the consolidation of the territories of the respective governments in Goozerat, engaged to increase his subsidiary force by an addition of one thousand regular infantry and two regiments of cavalry, and assigned to the British government for defraying the increased expense districts lying conveniently for the meditated consolidation.

CHAPTER V

MOULUBILLIL IN KATLLWĀR¹

WE have already seen that the Kings of Unhulpoor and the Sultans of Ahmedabad pursued in the main a very similar policy in regard to their neighbours. When they found themselves strong enough to do so, they effected a complete conquest, but, in the more numerous cases, where subjugation was impracticable, they contented themselves with the exaction of a tribute rather than prosecute a doubtful contest to extremity. During the government of Goozerat by the Sultans, and afterwards by the Imperial Soubahdars stationed at Ahmedabad, the Mohummedan authority was supported by garrisons, placed in fortified positions throughout the country, which ensured to some extent the regular collection of the tributary revenue, and rendered expeditions for its enforcement, except in special cases, unnecessary. These posts were, however, gradually withdrawn or driven out, and amid the frequent scenes of anarchy which were witnessed during the last days of the Mogul government, not a few were the result of endeavours to collect the revenue due from the tributaries by annual military expeditions. This course, which with the Mohummedans was compulsory and exceptional, was with their successors congenial and regular. It was a prominent feature in the policy of the Mahrattas that their sole object, in almost every country to which their arms extended, was the enforcement of a payment. It was not until some time

¹ [*Malakgiri* is a Persian word, meaning a conquering or taking of countries. It signifies in Marathi an expedition to enforce payment of revenue. See *Bomb. Ga.*, vol. vii (Baroda), ch. vii, pp. 315-18. Professor J. Sarkar (*Shiraj*) and his *Times*, Calcutta, 1919, pp. 479-81] says the idea was derived from the Mahommedans. The Koran enjoins raids into the *dar ul Harb* or infidel states. The *Sabhdasad Bakhar* (trans. J. L. Mankar, as *Life and Exploits of Shiraj*, Bombay, 1884-6) actually states (p. 23) that 'The Maratha forces should feed themselves at the expense of foreign countries for eight months every year, and levy blackmail.' J

after experience had taught them the advantages, towards the creation of a revenue, which a permanent settlement would yield, that their thoughts were even directed to a regular administration of the countries which they had subdued. 'When the Mahrattas,' says their historian, 'proceeded beyond their boundary, to collect revenue and to make war were synonymous, whenever a village resisted, its officers were seized, and compelled by threats, and sometimes by torture, more or less severe, to come to a settlement, ready money was seldom obtained, but securities from bankers,¹ with whom all the villages had dealing, were preferable, as they were exchanged for bills payable in any part of India. When the garrisons of fortified places made an unsuccessful resistance they were put to the sword.' These expeditions, so peculiarly suited to the mercenary temper of the Mahrattas, were called 'Moolukgeeree' or circuits of the country.² On their first appearance in Goozerat, the example of their Mohammedan predecessors, and the circumstances of the country, as well as their own predilections, led them to the adoption of these tributary expeditions. Bodies of three thousand or four thousand predatory horse, without guns or camp equipage, pursued their plundering march through those parts of the country which were still possessed by Rajpoot chiefs, and adjusted the amount of their demands to the ability of the Bhoomeca to comply, or their own power to enforce. As the government of the country became more settled the Moolukgeeree expeditions were undertaken with a certain number of irregular infantry, and began to assume more permanent features. It was a principle of the Mahratta commanders to increase the amount of their exactions, if possible or at least not to recede from the demands of their predecessors, and so tenacious were they of this latter rule, that, in cases of arrears of tribute, a payment for two years at the former rate was preferred by them to a complete settlement on more moderate terms. With the Rajpoot chieftains, on the other hand, it was equally a point of honor to resist as long as possible the levy of any tribute whatever, and, in the last resort, to secure the most favourable terms in their power.

¹ [See p. 50, note 1 b.]

² [See note 1 p. 53.]

A Moolukgeeree army seldom possessed power sufficient to subjugate a country,* or to reduce its fortresses, which were sure to be defended with obstinacy, it carried on its operations therefore against the open towns and villages, selecting the season of harvest for its period of action, with the view not only of compelling the more speedy acquiescence of the chieftain, but also of securing the more ready means of subsistence for the troops. As the Mahratta army approached the territory of the chief from whom the tribute was demanded, it was his duty, if he meditated no opposition, to despatch an accredited agent to the boundary line, furnished with the means of affording security for his compliance with all reasonable demands. His estate was thereupon secured from predatory acts on the part of the invading army, by the presence, in each village, of one or more horsemen of the advanced guard, called 'Bandhurs'.¹ When, however, the chieftain evinced a determination to resist, or even exhibited no indication of an early settlement, the Pindarees were thrown out on all sides, and the march of the army was thenceforth marked by every species of plunder and desolation, the ripe crops were swept from the fields, the villages were wantonly fired and destroyed, nothing was allowed to remain but the bare walls of the houses, and it frequently happened that every acre of his lands was left bare, and every hamlet in his territory reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins before the Rajpoot chieftain condescended to the payment of the tribute demanded.

The Moolukgeeree tribute was, in process of time—principally under the direction of Shivram Gardee, the officer of regular troops already mentioned—raised very considerably above its original standard. In addition, also, to the tribute, properly so called, and which had been realized by the former paramount powers, the Mahrattas exacted payments under a variety of other heads, as for instance, that of grass and grain for the horses of their cavalry, and that more comprehensive item, still of 'extra expenses'. The tributary country was subsequently divided into two districts,—*Kâteewár*, which included the Peninsula of Soreth, with the

¹ [Bandur, a bowman.]

lands of the Jhâlas and other contiguous territory, and the *Myhee Adnâd*, which extended from the banks of that river to Umbi Bhuwance and the Runn of Kutch ¹

Several causes, arising from the usurpation of the Arab mercenaries, the death of the Mulharaja Gowind Row, and the insurrections of Kanhojee and Mulhar Row, had contributed to prevent the dispatch of the usual army into Kateewar, and the tributary revenue in that province had accordingly fallen into arrears since the year A D 1708-9. It fell to the lot of Bâbajee Appajee to collect these arrears of tribute, and he accordingly proceeded on that service shortly after the fall of Kuree, in A D 1802. During the intervening period, the chieftains of Kateewar had fortified themselves, and prepared for resistance, and the treasure which might have been appropriated in payment of the tribute was dissipated in various pursuits particularly in the prosecution of their own dissensions. Their apprehensions were also further excited by the report that it was Babajee's determination to enforce the whole of his demands at once. Having subjugated the Desaee of Patree, who was a partisan of Mulhar Row, Babajee entered Kateewar, and after a series of successful operations in which he was engaged with Maleea Moorbee, Joonagurh Bhownugger, and Wudwan, and suppressing a dangerous insurrection of the Jagheerdar of Kuree, by taking that person and his son prisoners, he finally liquidated the whole arrears of tribute due from the country, and established in it a state of subordination and order superior to any that had been witnessed for centuries. In the course of this circuit of the Guikowar general, however, successful as it was to an extent far beyond expectation or the real strength of his government, there were not wanting sufficient indications that the chieftains of the peninsula submitted the more readily

¹ An estimate of the Moolukgeeree revenue from these two provinces furnished to Colonel Walker by the Guikowar authorities, in A D 1802 showed the following amounts —

<i>Province</i>	<i>Guikowar Share</i>	<i>Peshkirdh Share</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>
Kateewar	4 00 521	5 38 019	9 47,540
Myhee Kintâ	3 60 62 ^a	15 000	3 15 622

to Babajee's terms, from their knowledge of the dependence of himself and of his sovereign on the far greater resources of the British power. They feared, in fact, to use their own words, 'that the army of the Pringees might be spread abroad.' Under these circumstances, motives of sound policy, as well as those of humanity, and a due regard to British reputation, rendered it necessary that an influence already powerful, though unseen, should be openly acknowledged and fully defined.

At an early stage of the British connection with the Guikowar government, it had been discovered that a considerable portion of the resources of the Baroda state depended on a punctual realization of its tributary revenue in Kâteewar, while the large arrears due at that period rendered their recovery an object of no common importance. The Guikowar ministry were extremely diffident of their ability to recover this revenue, unless with the aid of the British, and the increase of the subsidiary force to three battalions of native infantry, as well as the stipulation in the definitive treaty that one of the battalions should proceed to Kâteewar whenever real necessity required it, principally arose from this impression of their weakness. The British government thus found itself indirectly pledged to the realization of an object which, if pursued in the mode expected by its allies, would have to be effected at the price of a departure from its usual principles and policy. As early as 15th December, 1802, the supreme government, of which the Marquis of Wellesley was then the head, was, therefore, induced to express its opinion, that if an amicable arrangement could be made with the several chieftains of the peninsula for the regular payment of their tribute, without the necessity for the periodical advance of a military force, an acceptable service would thereby be rendered alike to the Guikowar state, and to the British interests in Goozerat. There were thus, in truth, concurring circumstances, which operated to render necessary such an interference on the part of the British in the affairs of Kâteewar. To the voluntary payment of their tribute by the chieftains, the Guikowar government looked forward for the means of effecting a large reduction in its overgrown military establishments, it anticip-

puted also a valuable addition to its resources from funds which hitherto had been swallowed up in the enormous expenses of collection; but it looked to its allies for the means of effecting these desirable objects. The British authorities, on the other hand, while formally engaged and sincerely desirous to assist the Guikowar state, felt repugnance to lending their aid for so questionable an object as the carrying out a Moolukgeeree expedition, though they could contemplate, with honest satisfaction, the advantages which the principalities of Kateewar would derive from an arrangement that ameliorated a custom so oppressive; though they had reason to believe that their mediation would be readily accepted by the chieftains, and though they were well aware that, as matters then stood, the Baroda state must, in default of their active interference, continue to carry out its objects in the peninsula of Goozerat by means which, however opposed to the principles of the British government, still derived the greater part of their efficacy from its presumed support.

Though these principles had been for some time admitted, it was not until the 3rd April, 1807 that the government of Bombay found themselves in a position to enter upon the task of carrying them into effect. Colonel Walker, having been selected as the officer uniting the essential qualifications of requisite information and local influence, was, on that day, instructed to assume the command of a detachment destined, in co-operation with a sufficient contingent of the Guikowar troops, to proceed with those special objects into the peninsula of Soreth.

Means had previously been adopted, as has been noticed, for the purpose of sounding the chieftains of Kateewar in regard to their willingness to accept of British mediation for the permanent arrangement of their tribute, and the discontinuance of military expeditions for its realization. Though the result had been favourable, it was not long after the appearance of the detachment in Kateewar, before Colonel Walker discovered how little the chiefs contemplated a really disinterested course of action on the part of the British government. 'The circular addresses to the chieftains,' says that officer, 'were hardly believed to be sincere, and some extra-

ordinary and curious communications were the result of the advance of the troops, and discovered the sentiments of the country. It was most natural to suppose that our object was a Moolukgillerl circuit on our own account, and I accordingly received some proposals extolling the acquaintance of the parties with the arts of exaction and the bravery of their troops, which would be exerted, without exposing those of the Company, for a participation in the spoils. The Malwa¹ Raja wished to turn the command of a passage over the Runn to account, and proposed a joint plundering excursion into Chor Wagur, Kutch, and Sindh. Others again, conceived our object was to supplant the rights of the Guikowar Government, and these were prepared to offer the most lavish assurances of dependence upon the Company, and exhibited some attempts to neglect the Guikowar. Some insidious attempts were even made to raise our suspicions of the fidelity of Guikowar government. It was necessary to be prepared against these attempts and discourage them on their first appearance. Their intention was insidious, and would have been productive of every serious consequence that could flow from disunion of conduct and want of cordiality in the pursuit of an object of joint interest. My endeavours were therefore directed to convince the Bhoomeeas that the Company's troops appeared in Kateewar as the allies of the Guikowar and that their object was to promote an ultimate arrangement of the country under the Company's mediation, having in view, the advantage of the Guikowar state, and the permanent interests of the Bhoomeeas themselves.

The efforts of Colonel Walker, which were ably seconded by Wittul Row Deewan the commander of the Guikowar troops, soon revived the confidence of the Bhoomeeas and an opportunity was found for establishing incontestably the disinterested intentions of the British, in the restoration to its owner of the fort of Kundorna which, having been seized by the chief of Nowanugger, was rescued by the detachment from his hands. The feeling of the Bhoomeeas now sustained

¹ [Malwa, a state in the Kathiawar Political Agency (*Hisp. Gaz.*, xvii, 86 f.)]

a complete revulsion; and some of the weaker chieftains began to entertain chimerical expectations, and to look forward to an indefinite redress of injuries from the justice of the British government. Though anxiously embracing every opportunity of affording protection to those to whom it could be extended with advantage, and though actually successful in restoring many outlaws to their homes, and in preventing many acts of oppression, the British envoy found it necessary to confine his attempts, as a general rule, to the one object of providing for the Bhoomeeas security in time to come, without entering into the discussion of cases of doubtful or irremediable misfortune. His chief difficulty lay in assuming a just standard for a revenue, which had hitherto been so fluctuating and undetermined. It was evident, on the one hand, that the Baroda government had reason to expect, if not an increase to their revenue, at least its maintenance on an undiminished footing—the rather under the intimate knowledge which the British possessed of their necessities. The Bhoomeeas chief tains, *on the other hand*, were induced to rely upon British influence for their protection from excessive exactions, and from the permanent establishment of a tribute beyond their means to defray.

The existing rate of tribute had been increased under the administration of Babajee and others, principally under the item of 'extra expenses,' to an amount to which the Bhoomeeas had submitted with reluctance, which had been calculated upon the utmost revenues of their territories and which was unfit for the basis of a permanent settlement, both because it had not been in existence for a sufficient length of time to constitute a precedent, and still more, because, as was evident, it could not have been realized in successive years without recourse to coercion. A small reduction was therefore granted to almost every chieftain principally under the item above mentioned. Engagements were then entered into, under the guarantee of the British government, which assured to the Baroda state the punctual payment of the tribute upon the rate determined while they bound the chieftains of the country to refrain from those mutual aggressions and acts of depredation and violence which had formerly kept the country

in a state of continual suffering; the petty states on the sea-coast covenanted to relinquish piracy, and resigned the right to property in wrecks that might happen within their territories; the Jhāreja and Jetwā Rājputs¹ at the same time, by a solemn act, proclaimed the abrogation of their inhuman practice of female infanticide; while the mediating power pledged itself to protect the country from oppression, and to relieve it from the injuries which it had hitherto annually sustained from the circuit of a Moolukgeeree army. In order, however, to ensure permanency to these engagements, and to confirm to the Guikowār government that ascendancy on which so many advantages depended, it was determined to station within the peninsula a military force composed of a contingent of Mahratta horse and one battalion of the British subsidiary troops.

As the result of the arrangements thus ably concluded through the influence of the British envoy, the chieftains of Kátewār were gratified by seeing one of the most oppressive sources of exaction considerably ameliorated, and its future amount finally determined, while on the other hand, the rights of the Guikowār government (no longer, as formerly, based upon the mere superiority arising from more powerful resources) were now solemnly and formally recognized by the voluntary acts of the chieftains of the country themselves, and established, for the future, upon the same foundations as those engagements which connect more civilized states with each other,—‘an advantage,’ says Colonel Walker, ‘in the most complete sense of the term, which no government preceding that of the Guikowār had yet been able to obtain.’

¹ [For the Jādeja or Jāreja and Jaithva or Jethva Rājput tribe, see Tod, *Annals*, ed. 1920, i, 162, 176.]

CHAPTER VI

THE WĀGHĪAS—THE KUSBĀTIS OF DHOLKA—THE MĀILAS

WE may now pass in review such of the Rajpoot houses as were found in existence by Colonel Walker when the various districts of Goozerat which have been mentioned passed into British hands and when the influence of the British government was through the engagements lately concluded extended over other parts of the country.

Of the younger branch of the royal Wāghelias we have had nothing to record from the time of Ahmed Shah to the present period¹. The chief of Sanund or of Kot was now discovered by Colonel Walker holding the first position among the independent *grasias*² of the district of Dholka and though possessor of but twenty four villages still assuming the title of *raja* and boasting of his high descent from the forgotten kings of Unhulpoor. His principal town of Kot though undefended by fortifications was encircled by an impenetrable belt of jungle and he retained in his service a force of two thousand irregular infantry and one hundred and fifty horse who mounted guard at his residence and were engaged to defend his person or to wage hostilities like the troops of a sovereign prince'. His relation the chief of Gāngur possessed villages which though only eight in number constituted a very valuable estate and maintained an armed force of one thousand men.

¹ *Ide* vol. i. 328 ff.

² [The old *garasias* of Gujarat were *zamndars* and *valandars* hereditary landholders mostly dating from Musalman times and paying a fixed *jama* or tribute to the ruling power. Under the Marathas a new class of *garasias* sprang up mere robber chiefs who seized lands wherever opportunity offered and built strongholds whence they could levy *toda garas* or blackmail on the surrounding country. They haunted the hill country (*mehruis*) on the east of the great Gujarat plain (*rast*) which was the favourite scene of their devastations.]

Each of these chiefs paid to the paramount power a yearly tribute the amount of which however, varied according to circumstances. The general government as was stated by Colonel Walker, possessed no right of interference with their internal administration beyond that of enforcing the payment of their tribute and preventing any disturbance on their part of the peace of the country.

In the immediate vicinity of the Waghiyas were the *Kusbatees*¹ of Dholka a numerous and warlike body of *Mohummedans* inhabiting the chief town of the district, and who were regarded by the Mahratta governments as an useful counterpoise to the power of the Rajpoot *grassias*. The *Kusbatees* were of three classes—*Menas*, *Relens* and *Purmars*, the two former were reputed to have come from Delhi at the close of the sixteenth century the last were as their name implies of Rajpoot blood and were in fact the descendants of that branch of the *Purmars* of *Moolce* which we have already beheld settled at *Botad* as converts to the *Mohummedan* religion².

In A.D. 1654 say the bards a quarrel having arisen between the brothers who then held *Botad* one of them named *Mullik Mohummed* went off in anger to *Dholka*. His grandson *Kumal Mohummed* left seven sons who with two hundred horse which they commanded served *Ubhye Singh Rathor* during the time of his government of *Ahmedabad* and afterwards followed the *Nowab Kumal ood deen* (or *Juw in Murl Khan*) *Babee*. When the latter was compelled to surrender *Ahmedabad* the *Purmars* retired to *Joonagurh* where they served for many years. At length as they were in arrears of pay the *Nowab* of *Joonagurh* assigned to them his rights

¹ [*Kasbat* means townsman. The *Kasbatis* were mostly the descendants of soldiers who had grown rich by plunder or moneylending and had raised themselves to be *indlemen* and *landlords*. They were treated with leniency by the *Golkars* and were enabled to settle the rental on the villages under their management to imprisonment and to exact sums from merchants in return for protection. Some of the sailors of the *Gogha* coast also are *Kasbatis*. The *Gogha district* now supplies many of the best *Lascars* of our mercantile marine.]

² *Idem* vol. i. p. 318.

of tribute upon Gareadhar, which he found himself unable to realize. The brothers had been previously on very intimate terms with the Gareadhar people and therefore they set off thither joyfully, taking with them their families as well as their military retainers. The villagers were very much distressed, and determined to rid themselves of their burden, but in the meantime, in order to prevent any suspicion they each of them received a horseman and entertained him hospitably. At length, one night when the horsemen had retired to rest a signal was given by beat of drum and each householder put to death his guest. Mullik Futteh Mohammed and Mullik Ucha two of the Purmar brothers were the only survivors, the remaining brothers and the whole of their retainers perished.

When the news reached Dholka the cry was that great oppression had been committed. The two Talookdars also said — 'If they had been slain in fight we should not have grieved but they have been oppressed fraudulently. We will become Fukeers.' Their friends persuaded them not to become Fukeers but to take revenge. They agreed and when they had purchased new horses they returned to Joonagurh to serve the Nowaub with new men. For a few years they found no opportunity of revenge but at length the Guikowar army *going its rounds in Kāteewar* Neewaz Khan Rehen, the Dholka kusbatee went with the Mahrattas and as the Rehens and the Purmars were on good terms Mullik Futteh Mohammed and Mullik Ucha accompanied him. Neewaz Khan paid the tribute due to the Guikowar from Gareadhar and then attacked and destroyed the village in revenge for the Talookdars ploughing it up with donkeys and sowing it with salt. The Purmars seized the village herd man and his two daughters whom they made their concubines.

Kumāl Mohammed had acquired wealth, but his eldest son Mullik Namunt had used his sword so well as to add to the family riches and he had obtained several villages also. He was called the Talookdar of Keshree an estate of sixteen villages. After his death at Gareadhar his brother Futteh Mohammed, became his heir but he too died in A D 1746 and was succeeded by his son Sher Mee who ruled his

look well, made good use of his sword, and increased his possessions

Sher Meea died in A D 1700, and was succeeded by his son, Bhawa Meea

Mullik Ucha, the brother of Futteh Mohammed, received no part of his father's property, but by his good fortune he acquired villages of his own, and having founded a new house was styled Talookdâr of Dhunwar: which estate is also in the Dholka district. He died in A D 1765 and left three sons. The eldest son, Nana Meea succeeded his father and died in A D 1799 without a successor. His brothers received no share of their father's property, but acquired villages by their own strength. Their sister, Mool Beebee had been married to Sher Meea and though Bhawâ Meea was the son of another wife yet as he was thus in a manner the nephew of Nana Meea, he became his heir and inherited five villages an elephant two hundred horses and other property

Soon after Bhawa Meea's succession a body of plundering Jutt horsemen four hundred in number attacked one of his villages supposing that as Sher Meea was dead they could do so with impunity. Though they had often been beaten off by Sher Meea yet this time they carried off the cattle, and brought them to Keshree where they drew rein. Here they oppressed the people much and though the villagers said, 'This is Sher Meea's village if his horsemen arrive you will suffer for it,' the Jutts paid no attention but only said, 'Sher Meea is gone and his son is in the cradle.' Bhawa Meea heard at Dholka what had happened, he immediately mounted his horse and set out followed by about sixty horsemen. At this time he was twenty two years old. When he came up with the plundering horsemen he went in among them without any consideration and used his sword in a manner beyond his years. The forayers soon took to flight, leaving five of their number dead and many wounded. When the people at Dholka knew that the Talookdar had set off to attack the Jutts a large body of horsemen mounted, and hastened to his assistance but they were not in time for the battle and before they even reached the ground they met

Bhawa Meea and his party returning with the horses they had captured and the heads of the five Jutts that had been slain

At this time, the Jutts and Katees roamed about the country in large bodies, as freely as if they had been government troops. The ancestors of Bhâwa Meea had often defeated them and there was a deadly feud between them on that account, but as he had shown so much valor at so early an age and his reputation went on increasing day by day, the Jutts feared to encounter him.

Sher Meea had served the Peshwah, but Bhâwa Meea had attached himself to the Guikowar and gained great distinction. When the Baroda army advanced against Ahmedabad in A.D. 1800 to drive out Shelookur Bhawa Meea was with them followed by two hundred horse and when in A.D. 1802 the Guikowar called in the British to aid him against Mulhar Row, and the British force which had disembarked at Cambay found difficulty in advancing from thence to Kuree the Guikowar wrote to Bhawa Meea who attended the troops to Kuree with two hundred horse and was on very good terms with the British.

Bhawa Meea after having attained great reputation died in A.D. 1812 leaving two sons Bipoo Meea and Mullik Meea of whom the elder succeeded him. The Talooka consisted at this time of thirty villages.

Such was the leading family of the Kusbâtees of Dholka alluded to by Colonel Walker. He mentions that they were a bold and turbulent people some of whom commanded the services of a considerable number of horsemen whom they hired out to such of the neighbouring powers as required them. They held almost all of the peaceable part of the Dholka district in mortgage for payments of revenue in advance and had thereby much extended their influence.

We have little to record of the fortunes of the Jilâls for many years after their establishment at Patree¹. In the time of Muhâranâ Chundrasunghjee² who is said to have been

¹ Vide vol. i pp. 237 ff.

² [Chandrasunghjee reigned from 1584 to 1608 (*Kāth. Gaz.* p. 496). He visited Jahangir in 1618 (*Memoirs* trans. Rogers and Beveridge i. 428.)]

the fifteenth in descent from Hurpāl, through his eldest son, Shedo, or Shodojee, the chief seat of the Jhālās had already been removed from Patree to Hulwud, another town on the banks of the lesser Runn of Kutch; and, during his reign, or immediately afterwards, this branch of the house of Hurpāl was again subdivided into chieftainships, which still retain their independence. Prutheerāj, the elder son of Chundrasunghjee, lost his inheritance, but became the founder of the houses of Wānkāner and Wudwān; Umur Singh, the second son, succeeded his father at Hulwud, and is represented by the present chief of Dhrangudrā, the third son, Ubherajjee, founded the house of Lugtur. The family of Syelā is a branch from that of Umur Singh, of Hulwud, and that of Choorādescends from a cadet of Wudwan. The Muhārīnā Chundrasunghjee, here alluded to, is mentioned, by name, in the Meerāt Ahmudee, as having, in the year A D 1590, had a meeting, at Veerungām, with Khān Uzeez Koka, the imperial viceroy in Goozerat. Shekhurojee, the second son of Hurpal, established himself at Shunchānā (or Susana), in the Veerungām district, and held an estate composed of eighty four villages, which were, subsequently, re-annexed to the crown lands, but in which his descendants still hold 'wantas'. Māngojee, the youngest son of Hurpāl, founded the family of Lamree, which was seated first at Sheeinee,¹ and next at Jāmboo.

The following is the story of Prutheerāj, the son of Chundrasunghjee, as given by the bards —

Rāj Shree Chundrasunghjee, who reigned at Hulwud, had three sons, of whom Prutheerāj was the eldest. Udajee, the Raypoot of Sheeinee, having quarrelled with the Governor of Ahmedabad, determined to quit his territories, and, in that view, removed towards Hulwud. Prutheerāj had been out riding, and happened to bring his horse to the tank to drink water at the same time that Udajee came thither for a similar purpose. Some persons, who were at the tank, cautioned Udajee not to approach Prutheerāj, because he was in the habit of striking horses with his whip if they came near him. Udajee went, notwithstanding, close to the Koonwur, and,

¹ (Sūni is a town and subdivision of Limdi.)

when the latter raised the whip to strike his horse, Udâjee brought his spear to the rest, and said, that if Prutheerâj struck the horse, he would spear him. Prutheerâj was unarmed, and so he went back to the town, and there began to prepare a party to plunder Udâjee's camp. Chundrasunghjee, hearing of this, sent immediately to the Koonwur, to forbid his plundering people who had taken refuge in the territory of Hulwud. Prutheeraj, however, paid no attention to these remonstrances, but, when he had completed his preparations set forth to attack the camp. Chundrasunghjee, upon this, mounted his horse, and, riding to the camp of Udâjee, dismounted there. On being informed of the step taken by his father, the Koonwur forbore from his intended attack, and angrily went away to Wudwan, from which place he plundered the surrounding country. After a time, he had collected about two thousand followers, and having been informed that camels, laden with treasure, were on their way from Joonagurh to Ahmedabad, he prepared an ambuscade, and carried off the treasure. The persons in charge having made a complaint, the Mohummedan government set a reward upon Prutheeraj's head, and sent after him a Jemadar with two thousand horse. This officer, when he found what the strength of Prutheeraj's force was, determined to employ stratagem against him. He sent a man to Wudwân to say that he had been detached for the purpose of levying tribute, and requested Prutheeraj to accompany him. The Jemadar took an oath upon the Koran that he would commit no act of treachery, unless Prutheeraj should first deceive him, and Prutheeraj, upon this, joining him, they planned an attack upon Shecanee, which they successfully carried out, slaying Udâjee. Then 'sut' came upon the wife of Udâjee, and she despatched her servants to Prutheeraj to beg for the head of her husband. The Koonwur, however, had cut off Udâjee's head, and caused it be hung from a tree, and he sent word to the lady, in reply, that he would not give it to her unless she came herself and took it down. The wife of Udâjee came, and, girding up her clothes, climbed the tree, Prutheeraj meanwhile, abusing Udâjee, and saying, 'Son! you raised your spear against me, 'true', but see now, how numble I've caused your wife to be at

'climbing trees' The satee, when she heard these words, cursed Prutheeraj in her fury, and said, 'Yes! I have been compelled by you to mount a tree, but no wife of yours shall ever wash her body in mourning for you'¹ Other people, as well as the satee, blamed Prutheeraj for what he had done, and it was not long before he was himself repentant. However, he went on with the Jemadār, collecting tribute. On one occasion, some of his people, being in the rain, arrived first at a halting ground, and, as water was scarce, they pitched a tent over the well, and declared there was none in the place, so that though they got water from the well, the Jemadār's men had to travel six miles to get any. The Jemadār was informed of this, he said, 'Prutheeraj has been deceitful first, now I am absolved of my oath.' He seized Prutheeraj treacherously and carried him off, and no one, in this country, knows what became of him.

Prutheeraj being thus absent at the time of his father's death, his younger brother, Umur Singh, seized upon Hulwud Prutheeraj, however, left two sons, Sultanjee, from whom descends Wukhutsunghjee, the present Rāj of Wankaner, and Rājajee, who was the first of the house of Wudwan. Rājajee married Som Koonwur Bacc, daughter of Rathor Shree Lashubhrajee, the son of Row Narondas, and brother of Veerum Dev—the same lady, probably who is alluded to in the Churitra of the prince of Cedar. The Rathorance departed with her beloved through the flames of the pyre in A.D. 1643, as we are informed by the inscription on her funeral monument, and her image, under the respectful title of 'the Satee Rathor Mother's,' is placed in a shrine at no great distance from that of the unhappy Ranik Devec, and on days of holiday, dressed in queenly marriage attire and jewels, receives the salutation of her descendants.

¹ She meant that his wife should never receive information as to when or where he died, so as to mourn for him. [As a matter of fact, Pruthiraj was arrested, at the instigation of his brothers, by the Subadar of Ahmadabad, and carried to that town, where he died in captivity. A fuller account of the House of Dhrangadra will be found in the *Kāthi*, near *Caesleer*, s.v. *Dhrangadra* q.v. A genealogical tree will be found at the end of this chapter.]

Among the Sutees' temples at Wudwan is one called 'the Haree Mother's'. This lady, whose name was Bâce Shree Dev Koonwur, was the daughter of a Harâ chief, named Umur Singh, and the wife of Muhârânâ Shree Urjoon Singh whom she followed through the flames in A.D. 1741. The temple was erected by Urjoon Singh's son and successor, Muhârânâ Shree Subul Singh, who was not, however, descended of the Haree Rânee, his mother being a lady of the Purmâr clan, by name, Shree Uchoobâ. In a line with the Haree Mother's shrine is the funeral temple of Muhârânâ Shree Chundra Singh, erected in A.D. 1779, by his son and successor, the Muhârânâ Shree Prutheerâj, whose mother was Bâce Shree Kooshul Koonwur, the daughter of Shree Jorâjee, a Wâghela chief of Pethâpoor. These scanty memorials supply the only information which we possess of the fortunes of the Jhâlâ house for many years.

Regarding the last mentioned prince, Muhârânâ Chundra Singh, of Wudwân, the bardic chroniclers, however, furnish us with the following narrative :—

A Lohânâ of the village of Memkâ, near Wudwân, took a bullock load of pulse, which in Kâteewâr they call 'Jhâlur,' to Rozkoo, in the Bhal country, near Dhundhooka, to sell it. The Choorasumâ grassia of Rozkoo, whose name was Mepjee, had married one of his daughters to a Jhâlâ bridegroom, but was nevertheless at feud with that house. He said jeeringly to the Lohânâ, 'What's the worth of that Jhâlâ of yours?' The Lohânâ answered, 'A hundred Bhâlecas¹ go to one Jhâlâ.' When the Choorasumâ heard that, he was very angry; he beat the Lohânâ, took his bullock from him, and turned him out of the village. The Lohânâ went to complain to his prince, Chundrasunghjee Raja, of Wudwân. The raja enquired what the value of the bullock and its load was, and paid the Lohânâ the sum he named, but determined in his own mind that he would some day or other be quits with the chief of Rozkoo.

Now the Choorasumâ had a village called Morsecoo. Thither went Chundrasunghjee soon after with two thousand horsemen.

¹ Bhalecas are large earthen jars, or inhabitants of the Bhal.

He plundered the village, piled the wood of the houses upon carts, and set off homewards. Mepjee's sons, Lakhābhāce and Ramabhāce, went to their brother in law, Hurbhumjee¹ Raja, of Lamree, and told him of their feud with Wudwān, and of what they had suffered on account of it. Hurbhumjee set out to their aid with seven hundred horse and eight hundred foot, and took with him Bhugwānbhāce, the Guikowar's lieutenant, who was at Lamree at the time, at the head of a body of twelve thousand horse, which he had brought into the province. The allies halted for the evening on the banks of the river Bhadur, and as they had a number of guns with them they determined to defend the passage against Chundrasunghjee. The raja of Wudwān meanwhile came up, and pitched his camp near them. He thought that it would now be impossible for him to carry off his booty, and that his honor would be lost if even a single cart were left behind, so he set the whole on fire. At three o'clock in the morning, Chundrasunghjee rose and took 'the red cup'². He felt sure that he should be slain in the fight that was about to ensue, so he drank Ganges water, put a leaf of the sacred basil tree in his mouth, and assumed some coral ornaments³. When he was ready, an Arab Jemadar in his service, whose name was Gormbho came to him, and said, 'Thakor! if it seem good to you, I will attack their guns with my five hundred Mukranees, while you charge the main body. Or, if you please, I will charge them in the centre while you take their guns.' Chundrasunghjee thought the first plan the best. He dismounted from his horse and took a sword and shield. One of his chiefs came to him and dissuaded him from fighting on foot, but the Durbar replied, 'Is there any hope of surviving now?' The chief answered, 'Sire! that is in the hands of the Supreme Being. May Baburo Kool Dev and Shuktee Deves protect you! But while you

¹ [For an account of Harbhamji of Lamdi (d. 1786) see *Kath Gaz* s r Lamdi, p. 534.]

² [*Kusumkha*, or infusion of opium, which every Rajput drinks ceremonially, the subordinates taking it from the hands of their overlord. See vol. i, p. 309, l. 21. *Tod, Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i. 341. 'Ped' = auspicious, sacred.]

³ These are ceremonies of interment—See account of funerals in the Conclusion.

'have yet a horse, what need is there for your fighting on foot? In this way he persuaded him to remount and the rest of the horsemen having also mounted they moved off to attack the enemy. Meanwhile Gorimbho Jemadar was advancing against the guns with his five hundred infantry. The guns were charged with round shot and placed at the edge of the opposite bank over the river. The artillery men fired as quick as they could, but the Jemadar's men had already got down the bank into the bed of the river and the balls went over their heads. The Jemadar immediately attacked the gunners who fled leaving their pieces in his possession. Meanwhile Chundrasunghjee charged the main body of Hurbhumjee's troops and they discouraged by the flight of the gunners, turned and fled also. Hurbhumjee escaped to Limree pursued all the way by Chundrasunghjee who killed about fifty of his horsemen.¹

When the battle was over the Guikowars lieutenant, Bhugwanbhūce sent an officer with a silver rod to claim the guns as his master's property. Chundrasunghjee said that he had not been aware that that was the case and that the lieutenant might come for the guns or that he would himself send them. The Mahratta horsemen came for the guns and took them away and Bhugwanbhūce went back to Baroda while Chundrasunghjee returned home to Wudwan.

After the deaths of Chundrasunghjee and Hurbhumjee the Limree Raja Huresunghjee the son of Hurbhumjee attacked Pithabhūce (Prutherg) son of Chundrasunghjee in revenge. He came against Wudwan with five hundred horse and two hundred foot. The horse were divided into three bodies one of which encamped on the banks of the Karte river six miles from Wudwan and the other two beside reservoirs at Kherāloo and Pādecāwallee. It happened that five and twenty of the Limree horsemen had skirmished up to the gate of Wudwan and had killed a cultivator and done some further mischief when they were suddenly attacked by fifteen of Pithabhūce's horse who were going their rounds. The Limree men took to flight and the others pursued them to the

¹ [On the other hand the Marāṭha record a story of the defeat of Chundrasunghji by Harbhamji's father Akerājl. *Kāthā Gā.* 1 p. 534.]

place on the banks of the river where the foremost division was. The Wudw in horse lewd into the encampment, and killed five men, and the rest taking to flight they pursued them as far as Kheraloo. Raja Pathabhace, receiving information of what had happened, set out immediately with two hundred foot and three hundred horse, and attacked the enemy posted at Kheraloo, whom he defeated, and put to flight. In this action, Kumbhace, of Parburee, and Lakhabhace, Hureesunghjee's mother's brothers, were killed. Their funeral temples may still be seen in that place.

There was another fight, also, at the Karcc river, in which Hureesunghjee was present in person. On this occasion, Pathabhace's mother's brother, Sherbhace Waghela, of Pethapoor, was carried by his horse through the midst of Hureesunghjee's troops. Hureesunghjee pursued him, and slew him. The armies afterwards separated and returned to their homes.¹

¹ The two following documents will throw light upon the text. The first is 'a Runwatee deed or grant in compensation to the successor of a murdered person' the second is an engagement entered into by outlaws on obtaining permission to return to their homes.

I

To Muharana Shree Hurbhumjee salutation from Jhala Gojaljee and Jhala Vecsojee, and Jhala Bhawajee and Jhala Bhacejee, and Jhala Ujabhace and Jhala Mooloojee and Jhala Ramsunghjee and Jhala Rutunjee and Jhala Sungramjee, and Jhala Rutunjee Lakhaajee and all the brothers.

A quarrel occurred among the brothers at the village of Barejura, and Jhala Maljee and Jhala Humeerjee cut off Jhala Ramsunghjee's head. Therefore Jhala Maljee and Jhala Humeerjee are expelled from the eighty four townships (of Lamree) and Jhala Maljee's and Jhala Humeerjee's gras (hereditary lands) consisting of a share in the villages of Barejura and Jhaloca are given ughat (without opportunity of revocation) to Jhala Kushecajee as the price of Jhala Ramsunghjee's head the grant to last as long as the sun and the moon last. Jhala Kushecajee is to receive the revenues of these two villages and enjoy the gras. Further no descendant of Jhala Maljee or Jhala Humeerjee is to be permitted to reside in the eighty four villages. Whoever entertains such a person is an offender against the Durbar (the court, literally, meaning the chief the Muharana of Lamree) and if the Durbar punish him no one shall complain. We will all of us act up to this agreement,

A few years afterwards, in Sumwut, 1863 (A. D. 1807) the Jhâlās were again at war among themselves. On the borders of the Wudwan territory there is a village named Khora, containing a very old castle, the erection of which is attributed to Sidh Rāj. Six miles from thence is Goojurvedee, a village belonging to the Raja of Dhrangudra. At these two frontier points the chiefs of Wudwan and Hulwud had their out posts

and for our so doing the undersigned are security, Raba Wasung, of Bodana, and Rabā Bhuga and Rabā Naron, and Rāba Dhunnā and Guduwee Unda. We will act according to what has been here written. Sumwut, 1833 (A. D. 1777), Magsheer shood 6, Monday

Signatures

Gopaljee, &c
Written by Jhala Sun
gramjee

Witnesses

Shree Jugdeesh, (i e the sun)
Jhala Maljee
Jhala Meghabhaec
Jhala Chāndabhac
Rathor Kanda
Goletur Rājajee
Desaac Luloobhaec

Written by Bhowanecdas, in the presence of the parties.

II

Shree Bheetnathjee is security for the performance of the under written agreement. We will perform it.

To Muharana Shree Huresunghjee, salutation from Jhala Kusheejee Ramsingh, and Keshabhāec, of the village of Barejura. In payment of debts due by us we mortgaged the village of Barejura, to Sha Nanjee Doongurshee. Afterwards, we had a quarrel with Sha Nanjee and, leaving the village, went to Ookhrāla from whence we annoyed the Durbar. In atonement for these acts we hereby pass the village of Barejura to the Durbar, for seventy years up to the end of which time the Durbar is to enjoy it, and after that, we will arrange in regard to the debt due to Sha Nanjee, as any two men may decide. On the above terms the Durbar has called us in and given us jeewac lands in the village (lands for their subsistence), which we will enjoy and create no disturbance for the future. For our keeping the above agreement we give the following as security — The Chundhorka Kusatees, Syul Boolāke Azumblac and Shekh Sahib, and the Choorasumā of Iarburee Ramsunghjee. They are to be responsible in their property. Sumwut, 1853 (A. D. 1797). Bhādrapūshood 2 Saturday

Further, Mehta Bhugwandas is security, the above-mentioned securities having declined, also Guduwee Dala Jeewun, of the Tapuree branch, and Guduwee Jeewun Sahoo of Khumbhullā, and Guduwee Uja Udā, of the Datha branch of the village of Puchum, and Jawul

On the day of the festival of the goat,¹ the Mohummedan soldiers belonging to the post at Goojurvedee went round their own village to procure a goat, and being unsuccessful then repaired to Khorā. At this latter place they agreed with a shepherd to purchase a goat from him for three shillings, but having got possession of the animal they carried it off without paying the price. The shepherd went immediately to the Lunree post in the village and complained of what had happened, and the Lunree men turned out and went to Goojurvedee to demand the goat. The Dhrangudra soldiers now agreed to pay for the animal, but the others refused the money, and taking away the goat returned with it home. When the Dhrangudra men went to their master, the Raj, at Hulwud, and informed him of what had happened he was angry, and said, 'Why did you allow them to take away what you had purchased on your holiday?' He determined

Devkurshun Wala, of the village of Pansheena. They are to be responsible in their property.

Witnesses

Guduwee Dul,
agrees to the above



Guduwee Uj, Detla,
agrees to the above
Guduwee Jeewun Sahoo,
agrees to the above



L. Lal Devkurun Veli,
agrees to the above

Written by Miram, in the presence of the parties
[See Tol, *Annals of Pajasthan*, ed 1920, i 235, 324]

¹ [Animals are sacrificed by Mussalmans at the festival known as 'Idul azha, 'Idul zuha, or Qurban 'Id (Hughes, *Dict Islam*, 192 ff)]

to attack Wudwan, and sent for assistance to the Raj of Wankaner, the chiefs of Syela and Oloori, and to Huree Singh of Limree. The former declined joining him, but the latter assembled their forces and attended him. Huree Singh is said to have endeavoured to induce the chief of Wudwân to make submission,—‘Do you suppose,’ was the message, ‘that there is any difference between Hulwud and Limree? If you fight with Hunooman you will certainly be defeated. Does a wise man invite Yuma to his gate? What has happened has happened, but, if you now persist, your fort will be destroyed and the army of the Feringees will be spread over the country.’ Prutheeraj of Wudwan however, determined to resist and he collected a force which he maintained by plundering alternately the villages of Dhrangudra and Limree. When the allies were assembled, the Raj of Dhrangudra at first paid the expenses of the whole, but this was subsequently discontinued, and each chief supported his own troops. After some engagements in the field Prutheeraj was compelled to retire within the walls of Wudwan, and the allies then besieged him and effected a breach with their artillery. At this period however, the Bhats and Charans came between the combatants and an arrangement of the dispute was by their means effected.

Thus far on bardic authority. Colonel Walker, who was in Jhalwar shortly after these occurrences, gives the following account of them —

‘Another cause’ (of the wretched state of the country) is ‘the war which lately existed between the Rajas of Limree, Wudwân and Dhrangudrâ. This war arose from the ridiculous circumstance of a party of Dhrangudra horse having taken a goat from a shepherd for which they offered to pay, but the shepherd went and complained and a party of Wudwan people took the flesh of the goat from the horsemen while they were preparing to cook it. This produced retaliation from Dhrangudra one outrage provoked another the Limree Rajâ was implicated in the quarrel, nor was it settled until every village of the Wudwan Talook, consisting of upwards of sixty was laid waste save four and the walls of Wudwân itself breached. The other Talooks suffered in proportion.’

According to the bands the feud cost the Rāj of Hulwud a lakh of rupees, or ten thousand pounds, the chief of Limree two thousand five hundred pounds, and the chiefs of Choori and Syelā one thousand each.

The country of the Jhālās was at the time of Colonel Walker's settlement of the Mahratta Moolukgeeree district of Kāteewār, in which it was included, involved in a state of great depression produced by several causes. A fruitful source of dissension, not, however, confined to this part of Goozerat, was the system under which the property of a chieftain was divided and subdivided among his descendants. A constant state of enmity among the Rajpoot families themselves had resulted from the endeavours of the superior chieftains to preserve their territories from dismemberment, by force or fraud employed against the junior branches of their families. Nor were the external difficulties of the country less serious. Katees, Jutts, Meeyāns¹ and other predatory tribes kept the inhabitants of its few and miserable villages in continual alarm. The deficiency of cultivation was rendered still more strikingly visible by the nearly total absence of wood or even of foliage. In most parts of Jhalwar the cultivator went armed to the scene of his labours, and in every village a tall tree, or other elevated station, was employed as a watch tower, from which a sentinel gave instant notice of the approach of the much dreaded predatory horse. The cattle, which with their domestic utensils and ploughs constituted the sole property of the villagers, were now hastily driven off from the fields to such shelter as could be afforded by the scanty defences of the village, or if overtaken by the freebooters in the open country were soon wending their way across the Runn to a ready market in Kutch or Chor Wāgur. The annual Mooluk

¹ The Meeyānas, who were men of Sindhi extraction and much renowned as warriors, were numerous at Maleea. Their character, as popularly estimated, may be gathered from the following story —

One day, while an Arab soldier of the Guikowars was at his prayers, a Meeyāna passed by, and enquired of him who he was afraid of that he bent his head that way. The Arab replied with some indignation, that he feared no one but Ullah (God). 'O! then,' said the Meeyānā, 'come along with me to Maleea, we don't fear even Ullah there.'

[For the Miana tribe see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix, part 1, 510 ff.]

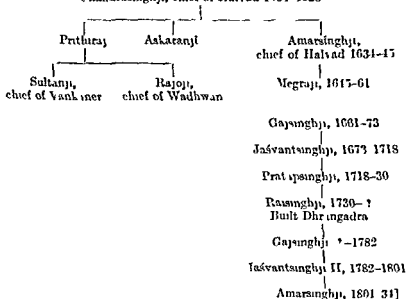
geographical expeditions of the Peshwāh, the Guikowar, and the Nowaah of Joonagurh had further contributed to render waste and depopulate a country which had received from nature almost every requisite of fertility. Its state of desolation may be vividly perceived in the fact that when the Mahratta Soubahdārs were passing through it the want of firewood was sometimes so great as to render it necessary for the Bhoomeeā chieftain of a place to cause one of his own villages to be deserted in order that its materials might supply the invading army with fuel. More special causes of suffering were found at this particular period in the late exaction of arrears by Bābājee, in the state of war which had been produced by Mulhār Row's presence in the country after his escape from Nerriad, and in the exhausting feud among the Jhālā chieftains themselves, which we have just described.

Jhālwar was divided into a number of independent chieftainships, the principal of which were those of Hulwud or Dhrāngudra, Limree, Wudwān, Wānkaner, Choorā, Lugtur, and Syela, whose formation we have already noticed. A family respect was still paid to the Raj of Dhrangudrā, who on state occasions received the first act of civility, and was seated on an elevated cushion above the other chieftains of the race of Hurpal. The affairs of this chieftain had been very ill managed, and his district plundered by an unworthy minister, who had lately absconded. Nor had the other estates of the Jhalas experienced a happier fate, and those of Choorā and Lugtur in particular had temporarily fallen under the direct control of the Mahrattas. Heerjee Khuwas, the minister of the chief of Lugtur, had advanced money to his master, and having obtained the entire control of the estate proceeded to erect fortifications and showed a disposition to establish his own authority. The Jhala chief, in alarm sought the aid of his daughter Ghena Bae, the widow of the Muhārāja Gowind Row Guikowar. The Baroda state was induced to interfere, and discharge the demands of Heerjee Khuwas but it became necessary for the Guikowar officers to assume the management of the Lugtur estate, in order to defray the debt thus incurred, which step they had accordingly taken reserving a portion of the produce for the subsistence of the chieftain.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS OF DHIRANGADRA

Chandrasinghji, chief of Halvad 1584-1628



CHAPTER VII

THE CHOORISUMĀS OF DHOLLERA—THE GOMĀS

THE first settlement of the British in the peninsula of Soreth was made, as we have already hinted, under the auspices of presumed descendants of the ancient and princely line of Gīrnār. A younger son of one of the Rās of Soreth, named Banjee, is said to have received, as his patrimony, four 'chorashees,' or districts each containing eighty four villages, one of which, the district of Dhundhooka, was inherited by his son Rāeesuljee. From Marjee the fourth son of Rāeesuljee descended the Choorisumā grassia Syesuljee, who, at the time of Anund Row Guikowār, possessed, or had claim to, the villages of Dhollera, Rah Tulow Bunder Bhingur, Bheem Tulow, Goomāh, and Saibellow, comprising in all, an area of about a hundred thousand beeghas. Three of these villages were however uninhabited.

The district of Dhundhooka had fallen after the division of the country between the Viceroy of Ahmedabad and the Mahrattas to Kuntajee Bhanday, who held it as a separate estate. It was taken from Kuntajee by Damājee Guikowār, and, on that chief's compelled submission to the Peshwah, passed into the hands of the court of Poonah. Under the Mahratta government the unsettled state of the country, and the continually recurring pecuniary embarrassments of its rulers compelled the komavishdars or farmers of districts to contract upon terms which could be fulfilled only by the most oppressive exactions. The territory entrusted to them was also exposed to the depredations not only of the surrounding states but of every predatory leader who could attract to his standard fifty or a hundred men. The villages, therefore fell to ruin, and a large part of them became wholly deserted. Many of the smaller landholders had, at this time become anxious to place themselves and their possessions under the protection of any government sufficiently powerful to prevent the neighbouring chiefs from encroaching on their estates,

and the powers to which they were tributary, from exacting a larger revenue than that which had been stipulated for by the Mogul rulers, at a time when the country was in a far more flourishing condition. The British government, which now appeared upon the stage presented to the view of the grassias a power such as they desired and to it, therefore, were addressed their applications for aid

'In the view of improving our commercial and eventually our political intercourse with the peninsula of Gozerat,' says Mr Duncan in a letter addressed to the Governor General from Cambay on the 11th June 1802 'I have accepted the offer of the port of Rah Tulow or Dholera, situated about twenty miles to the south of this place, the grassia proprietors of which viz Manabhaee Gorbhaee and Syesuljee Sutt'jee and their brethren have been pressing me for the last four years to accept of this spot on condition of their continuing to receive one half of the net future income their object in which has been the procuring protection for themselves against the depredations of their neighbours and particularly from the encroachments of the Raja of Bhownugger who wishes to possess himself of this excellent sea port to prevent its becoming a rival to his own less convenient one of Bhownugger and he has for that purpose been tampering with some of the brethren of these grassias to make over their shares to him which he has accordingly obtained from one of the inferior among the brethren named Hallojee in a proportion too insignificant (not exceeding eleven parts in a hundred in the village of Dholera) to affect their general engagements with us for their whole interest besides that one brother cannot make a valid grant of the joint property and that even this trifling attempt to supersede our claims is of a date posterior to and may no doubt be justly considered as the immediate consequence of the previous tender made to us by the united body of the grassias in question whose territory, situated under the pergunnah of Dhun dhooka is subject to a fixed khundunee (tribute) to the Peshwah who does not however, appear to exert any interference in the internal management as seems indeed sufficiently implied in the recent attempts of the Bhownugger

* chieftain to acquire this possession and the terms on which
 * a small proportion thereof had been actually made over to
 * him *

The example set by Syesuljee and Manibhice was not long after, followed by numerous other holders, or claimants of villages in the Dholka and Dhundhooka Pergunnahs whose applications were strenuously supported by Sir Miguel de Souza through whom they were made. As however, most of the villages which were thus proposed to be ceded to the British government had been held for periods of twenty years or more by the Rawul of Bhownugger the Thakor of Limree, or some other chieftain and as the claims thus revived were, in his opinion far better consigned to oblivion the Resident opposed, with success the acceptance of the proffered cessions *'Vague uncertain and disputed claims'* said Colonel Walker *'to the sites of villages of which the recollection scarcely exists'* *'are generously ceded to the Honorable Company, upon condition of displacing the immediate possessors from the waste lands they have brought into cultivation, and relinquishing one half of the advantages to be gained solely by the Company's means to the grassia claimant and undertaking to rebuild and repopulate villages for their benefit * * * *'* *'In the prosecution of our views in Kateewar humanity is a principal consideration and the Honorable Company's advantage honor and reputation will consist in reconciling the animosities of the rival chieftains instead of availing ourselves of the precarious benefits to be derived from their dissensions'*

We return now to the affairs of the Gohil clan who were the nearest neighbours to the newly acquired British possessions on the coast of the peninsula of Soorashtṛā

When the seal of the padishah says the bard of the Gohils was exchanged for that of the Sahoo Raja bands of Arabs consorted with that king his rule extended as far as Mecca and on the east to Bhudreeka his soubahdars were so powerful that they exacted double rates of tribute They returned to his presence from subduing the country When the roll was called and the royal assembly held the Gundhurvs sang songs and related tales, dances were exhibited, the king sat on his

throne said the Sihoo to Seevajee, 'We have broken Delhi, and taken possession of much territory. What countries have been conquered by us, and what remain?' Seevajee said, 'Eating your salt, I have taken several countries, and have subdued the Bhatee Raja, but Sorethland is a country where there are many men and many forts armed with guns. This country has not been subdued.' The Sihoo beheld there like peers two soubhaidars seated. Kuntajee and Peelajee, he granted them a puttā for a lakh of years. 'If you can conquer Soreth I give it to you—wherever there are cities I will assign you jagheers.' He gave them crowns and dresses of honor, the army set off immediately, it went onwards, lying waste the habitable places, it came to Goozerat, and took possession. The officers of Delhi taking with them a park of artillery advanced, they drew the Mogulæe sword. In that battle Roostum Ulee¹ was slain he who was the leader of eighty thousand men. Then the zumeendars, bending the head began to say 'You are our lords to you every village will pay salamee' we are humble who will contest with you? But if you subdue Bhawo you will obtain a reward at Sattara. Bhawo caused us much annoyance then we bowed the head to him and said 'You are our lord.' In many places he has seized forts. When Kuntajee heard these words he was distressed, he came and pitched his tents within two kos of Seehore. Calling for a Brahmin he sent him with a letter to Bhawo 'Give up the fort of Seehore or Shumbhoo's² oath to you. In the morning coming I will plant my flags on all sides of your city. I will give you four watches of the night.' Bhaw Singh beheld the note he had written. He was angry, he said to the Brahmin. Show me your back that I may not incur the sin of slaying you. The Brahmin went away and said to Kuntajee 'Go forth in the morning and fight with him.'

The great drums sounded the army set forth. Kuntajee approached to where that Indra among men was seated in Seehore. The fire arrows³ began to fly, the balls of the swivels to travel the hulls began to re-echo. The balls flew on

¹ [The defeat of Rustam Ali has been described on pp 5-6 *et passim*]

² A name of Shiva

³ *Akshat*: rockets

both sides. They did not injure those who dwelt in the fort, though they scattered its assailants like pigeons. Many of those who were outside fell, and eat the dust. The dwellers in the fort remained immoveable. Rutun Singh's son, Bhow Singh, did not fear a whit; the Mahrattas were tired. The Deewan said, 'Why are you vexing yourselves,—little is left of our ammunition or of our army? Listen to my advice. Muroo, who is as lofty as the sky, has not come into our hands.' Thus speaking, they struck their tents and retreated. Kuntajee did not return home. On the journey he died. He did not go to his raja. He went to the house of Yuma.

Another year came round. The Sahoo again summoned his Rawuts. 'Have all come home subduing territory? Have Peelajee and Kuntajee been defeated anywhere, that they have not returned? What has become of them?' The Rāwuts answered, 'He who goes to Java perhaps may return, and bring back as much wealth as may support his children's children; but he who goes to fight with Bhawo never returns.'¹

¹ It is a saying in Goozerat,—

Who goes to Java
 'Never returns
 'If, by chance, he return,
 'Then, for two generations to live upon,
 'Money enough, he brings back.'

[The Gujarati version is

*Te jae Jave, te ladi nahī ave,
 Ave to, sath pidhi banke lhave*

Another version is

*Te jae Jave, te phari ne ave
 Jo phari ave, to parya parya lhave
 Etalu dhan lave*

Who go to Java, stay for aye
 If they return they feast and play,
 Such stores of wealth their risks repay

These verses are interesting as they refer to the colonization of Java about 600 A. C. by Kasamachitra, King of Gujarat, which is mentioned in the Javanese chronicles, but in Gujarat is recorded only in proverbs such as those quoted above. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1, part 1, Appendix IV, p. 489. V. A. Smith, *Hist. Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 259 ff.]

Bhow Singh Gohil, as we have seen, founded the new capital of Bhownugger, in A D 1723¹. He was a chief of enterprise and sagacity, and before his death had the satisfaction of seeing his city established as a commercial emporium. At that period the disturbances consequent on the decline of the Mogul empire had rendered navigation dangerous, and subjected commerce to oppressive exactions. The trade of Gogo and Cambay had proportionably decayed as those ports were deprived of protection and unsupported any longer by the lucrative communication with Ahmedabad. A number of small communities had been established, the coast from the mouth of the Myhee to the Indus had fallen into the possession of robbers, who subjected the property of the merchant to their lawless rapine, and the sea had become infested by pirates. There were, therefore, great advantages to be derived from the establishment of a comparatively powerful ruler at Bhownugger, who was both able and desirous to extend protection to commerce. From this period we are to date the intercourse of the Gohil Rawuls with the government of Bombay, 'and at a time,' says Colonel Walker 'when the resources and commerce of the presidency were more limited than at present (A D 1807) the friendship of the chieftain of Bhownugger seems to have been cultivated with assiduity and attention.'

Bhow Singh was succeeded, in A D 1764-5 by his son Rawul Ukherajjee, commonly styled Bhawajee, who was of an unambitious temper and averse to war. From the necessity of affording the trade of his port encouragement and protection, the Rawul, however, joined with a body of his troops an armament from Bombay, and assisted in the reduction of Tulaja and Mhowâ then possessed by koolies who supported themselves by piratical attacks upon the merchants and vessels of every nation. The moderate policy of Rawul Ukherajjee made him reject the possession of Tulaja which after its conquest, the British would have conferred upon him. In consequence of his refusal Tulaja was delivered to the Nawaub of Cambay, A D 1771 or 1772 and about a year after this event Rawul

¹ This is the statement of the accredited bards of the Gohil clan. Colonel Walker says the town was founded in A D 1742-3. [So the *Kâthiawar Gazetteer*. See the article on Bhavnagar, pp. 385-97.]

Ukherajet died and was succeeded by his son Wukhut Singh

Rawul Wukhut Singh better known by the familiar title of At ibhaee, was far more ambitious and enterprising than his father. He increased his territories by various acquisitions while at the same time he encouraged and protected commerce.

In Samwat 1836 (A D 1780) say the bards Shree Wukhut Singh drove Noor Mohammed out of Tulaja and took possession of it. He also seized Jānjmer. In the same year he drove Jusso Khusheo Koolee out of the port of Shree Mhowa and took possession. Colonel Walker mentions that both force and artifice were employed by Wukhut Singh in dispossessing the Nowaub of Cambay of Tulaja. He states also that the Rawul soon afterwards established his authority over the district of Walāk (so called from its having been of old the property of the Walī Rajpoots) with the exception of a few villages the property of the Survaiya clan and re settled and fortified Mhowa which had been destroyed by the expedition in which the British troops were engaged and rendered it a flourishing port. 'It is to be observed continues the resident that this acquisition of a valuable country and of an extensive coast was made from tribes who exercised piracy and that whatever share of violence and ambition may have been united in the measures of the Bhownugger chiefs their ultimate object was the protection of commerce. The good effects of this policy were extensively felt and the coasting trade of the Honorable Company's subjects derived every advantage from this regular plan for the security of commerce. The Rawuls of Bhownugger were the first chiefs who had the discernment to discover the advantages of this policy and they have the singular merit of reforming the predatory habits of their subjects of directing their attention to industrious pursuits and of affording security to the persons and property of merchants which have reclaimed an extensive line of coast from the practice of piracy and been productive of many permanent benefits. It must at the same time be admitted that in other instances the ambitious policy of Wukhut Singh has been but little restrained by any of the considerations of honor and justice. His measures have been

‘executed with vigour, and generally with judgment, but
 ‘they have been influenced alone by his interest, and pursued
 ‘with perseverance and spirit, employing indifferently force,
 ‘intrigues and artifice to increase his power and ensure success
 ‘to his schemes’

Under these auspices Bhownugger became the channel of the import and export trade of Goozerat, Soreth, and Marwar, and the encouragement which merchants received induced many opulent people to settle there, while the neighbouring port of Gogo, with the advantage of a much more convenient harbour, soon fell into decay.¹ As an example of the superior judgment and policy of the Gohil chiefs, Colonel Walker mentions the remarkable fact, that while at the port of Gogo, at that time under the Peshwah's government, shipwrecks and stranded vessels were annually farmed as a source of revenue, everywhere on the coast subject to the Gohils they were protected, and restored to the merchants.

In A D 1702, according to the bards, ‘Wukhut Singh be
 ‘came at feud with the Katees, and led an army to Cheetul
 ‘from which the Katees retreated. He plundered the fort of
 ‘many horses, camels, carts and other property. He raised
 ‘his standard at Koonduli. The Katees went to Ahmed
 ‘Khan, Nowaub of Joonagurh, and complained that Rawul
 ‘Wukhutsunghjee had seized their gras. The Nowaub
 ‘advanced, therefore with an army, but the Rawul met him
 ‘with forty thousand men. Arriving at Patun he drove away
 ‘the Nowaub with his cannon, and took the village of Rajoola
 ‘from him. The Jetwa Rajpoot Jeejee, effected a reconcilia-
 ‘tion between the Nowaub and the Rawul and they drank the
 ‘red cup together, but the Rawul was at feud with the Katees
 ‘for twelve years’.

Joonagurh was at this time in the hands of the family of Kurnal ood deen or Juwan Mird Khan Babee, the latest Mohummedan ruler of the capital of Shah Ahmed.

These events are commemorated also by the following ballad — ‘Quickly advanced the Nowaub, bringing with him
 ‘an army of Katees, not a man was left in fort, or castle, or

¹ This state of affairs has since been reversed. the trade of Gogo has revived, while that of Bhownugger has fallen away.

‘village. As he came on angrily, Wukhutesh, like another
 ‘Indra, mounted to oppose the Yuwun. The kettle-drums
 ‘sounded, and the great drums too, the peaks of the mountains
 ‘re-echoed, the earth supporting snake began to writhe, the
 ‘ocean to dash its spray up to the sky. The spear in his
 ‘hand was glancing like a ray of the sun ; against the Nowaub
 ‘none but the son of Ukherāj could go Countless Rohillas,
 ‘Sindhis, and Puthans, came on, many Arabs sounding the
 ‘drum Ātābhāce, with his brothers, advanced to meet them,
 ‘“ You have come with a good object, Bābee ! mount and
 ‘come on to the fight ” He gave him a sulāmee of cannon ;
 ‘erecting batteries, he threw him into sorrow. Hemud con-
 ‘sidered that he should get more blows than money Without
 ‘sounding the kingly drum, off he fled in the middle of the
 ‘night The Katees too began to fly, hither and thither, like
 ‘crows The son of Mohobut Khan fled ; he heeded not what
 ‘road he took After the Yuwun went Āto, following him by his
 ‘track The lord of Seehore cried as he advanced,—“ Slay !
 ‘slay ! take care of the honor of Sulābut Khān ”¹ Expelling
 ‘friendship from his heart he angrily encamped at Pātuna,
 ‘within a kos of the enemy’s frontier “ Huree ! Huree ! ”
 ‘exclaiming, he pitched his camp

‘As Devs and Dytes prepared for encounter, so stood the
 ‘black elephants and long maned horses Five kinds of music
 ‘sounded, swords, lightning like, flashed ready for the fight,
 ‘it seemed as if the last day had arrived, tubes began to be
 ‘discharged, in double lines the Arab beruks advanced shout-
 ‘ing “ deen ! deen ! ”² the valiant followers of Wukhut Singh
 ‘irregularly were fighting Within an hour Meeā cried out for
 ‘quarter, he began to be himself the suitor “ I swear to you
 ‘by the Koran I will not attack you again I give you Rājoola,
 ‘Koondula, and Cheetul, the Almighty has given you all the
 ‘country ” He caused a grant to be written, and above it he
 ‘placed his seal The chief of Porbunder, Jeewojee the Jetwā,
 ‘tried to give him courage ; all that were with him were dis-
 ‘mayed, the Soubahdār of Soreth was left without honor
 ‘With him were the Koompāwut of Jetpoor, Wujsoor the

¹ An ancestor of the Nowaub’s

² Deen means ‘ religion,’ and is a usual Mohummedan party word

were the circumstances which attended the last appearance in Goozerat of the talented, ambitious, headstrong, and unfortunate Jaghceerdar of Kuree. With his son, Khundee Row, he was transferred, in the month of May following to the charge of the British government, and by their orders conveyed to the fort of Bombay, where he was detained as a prisoner at large until he ended his days.

Early in A.D. 1804, a British agent was deputed to the Rawul of Bhownugger to induce him to agree to an amicable settlement in regard to his Moolukgeeree tribute to the Court of Baroda—a measure which the Guikowâr government had adopted at Colonel Walker's recommendation and to which Wukhut Singh also had for some time listened favorably. Influenced, however, principally by his ministers, the Rawul for some time evaded, and at length wholly rejected, the proposal. This conduct compelled Babajee, who had waited for some time on the frontier in hopes of an accommodation, to enter the Rawul's territories, in the month of August and hostilities in consequence ensued. The Guikowâr general advanced to Seehore and his Pindarces harassed the country around, and carried off the cattle of the villagers. As the lands of the Gogo pergunnah were principally divided between the British and the Rawul, and were so intermixed that one share could hardly be injured without the other being affected, Wukhut Singh seemed to Colonel Walker to have formed some expectation from these circumstances that Babajee would not venture to molest him. 'I have found it necessary,' says the resident, 'to undeceive him on that head, and to apprise him that he shall be answerable for the damage which may befall the Company's division of the pergunnah from his resistance to the customary demands of the Guikowâr government. I have not received an answer to this communication, and it may perhaps produce some good effect, as I understand that the raja is displeased with his present advisers and has threatened to dismiss them for the injudicious course they have led him to pursue.' It was not, however, until the month of October that the Gohil Rawul, succumbing rather to British threats than to Mahratta valour, intimated his consent to settling with Babajee for three years' tribute at the customary

'flew like run, the Mahrattas grew weary, streams of blood flowed from their bodies, they lost courage. Many were slain many had their heads cleft asunder, the eyes of many were darkened. Wukt's warriors plundered the Baba's army like lions unchained, the ground was covered with corpses and heads, they sought to escape in all directions.

This misfortune befel Baba in Samwat 1860 (A D 1804). For five months he could find no means of escape, the Soubah was very much distressed. Of collecting tribute he lost the recollection, all he thought of was escaping. In his tent he sat, and hid his head. When he passed an acquittance then he obtained permission to retire. To what Bhawo's grandson proposed he was forced to agree, he came to exact a fine, but discovered he had one to pay, for the two and a half lakhs which he carried away had cost him full five.'

At the time of Colonel Walker's appearance in Katewâr, the Rawul of Bhownugger in addition to the ports of Mhowa and Tulaja¹ and the districts already mentioned had established his authority in nearly the whole of Walâk and in the district of Sabur Koondla and other places of less note. The disturbed state of society rendered the realization of his revenue very precarious and he was supposed to be deeply involved in debt, from the necessity which he had experienced of increasing his forces to support himself against the Katees. His military establishment consisted of five hundred Arab and two thousand five hundred Sindhi, infantry with about five hundred regularly maintained horse. He could also collect from the villages of the Bhyud² or cadets of the Gohil clan, three thousand Rajpoot horse, and to assist in predatory expeditions though incapable of military operations he could muster also two thousand five hundred 'weavers'. He had also of late entertained a body of a hundred horse belonging to Bhawa Meea the Purmar Kusbatee of Dholka for whose payment he had assigned the ancient possession of that family—the village of

¹ [For the ports of Mahuva and Talaja see *Bombay Gazetteer*, viii 536 f., 660 ff.]

² [*Bhaggyâd*, the brotherhood, Tod *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i 154, 202, ii 961.]

daughter of Lakhjee the then chieftain. By this connexion the Gohils of Latee secured the support and protection of the Baroda government and an exemption from the payment of their Moolukgeeree tribute which was commuted for the yearly offering of a horse in acknowledgment of supremacy. The dowry of the Gohil lady was however the district of Chuburra since called after the name of her Mahratta bridegroom Damnugger.

Numerous other Rajpoot estates principally belonging to scions of the Jhāreja house of Kutch were included in Colonel Walker's settlement of Katchewar in addition to the chieftainships to which we have alluded but to these we do not propose to refer as we possess no original information in regard to them and as their affairs have been as yet unconnected with the events of our story.

Upon the spot where Boucherā perished, one of those rugged cairn like memorials called 'Khāmbees' was erected. This was afterwards supplanted by a temple of the smallest size which is still in existence. A second temple, of somewhat larger dimensions was erected in front of the first building and so near to it as almost to close the entrance. The first of these erections is attributed to an apparently fabulous personage, Sulukh Raja, the second to a Mahratta Turnuvees. Beside them but turned in a different direction is a large temple, possessing a spire and two domes which was erected in A D 1783 by Mānājee Row Guikowār the brother of Lutteh Singh and younger son of the great Dāmājee. In front of this building is the pit used for fire sacrifice and beyond the fire pit stands a pyramidal altar called 'clāchur' or 'the cross roads,' upon which animals are offered. Several houses of accommodation for pilgrims surround the temple, with lines of pedlar like stalls where the necessaries for worship and various little knick knacks for private use are exhibited for sale. In one corner is an octagonal tower of two stages surmounted by an open domed pavilion called Deep mālā or the Lamp garland. The two solid stages are chequered with niches for lamps which on days of festival make a brilliant display of light. A battlemented wall loop holed for musketry and protected by circular towers at the four corners surrounds the temples and their subordinate buildings. The gateways are three in number. The principal one is contained in a rectangular tower of which the upper portion forms a room containing the royal drums and other instruments of music. From the terraced roof of the tower

woman who committed *trāga* or self mutilation. Charan women are regarded with much veneration and addressed as *Mātā*. The ghost of a Charan woman who has committed *trāga* is a *fortiori* an object of the greatest dread. According to the last Kathiawar census of Kachhela Charans who within the last fifteen years have settled at Halol near Pavagarh in the Panch Mahals the nine lakhs of Matas or Mothers were all unmarried Charan girls. It was because the famous Kalika Mata of Pavagarh too was a Charan woman of the Needa clan that these Charans came from Kathiawar and settled in Halol. *Bombay Gazetteer* ix 1 216 n. For *trāga* see vol 1 p 30^o l 11, note, and Yule, *Hobson Johnson* 2nd ed p 937.]

the view extends on all sides over a flat, open country, studded with villages, each nestling in its clump of trees. Among them may be discerned Chundoor, Punchásur, and Wunod, recalling the story of the first of the Unhulwára princes, Waghel, the cradle of the latest scions of the race, and Kunságur, with its princely remains of their mid day splendour. Sukhumpoor stands hard by, and, nearer still, a hamlet bearing the goddess's name of 'Bechur.' A grove of bâbul and other trees of scanty foliage hedges the fort itself. Outside the walls is a small square tank, called the 'Mân Surowur,' celebrated for the marvellous cures which have been effected by its waters, and at no great distance from it, are other larger, but less celebrated, reservoirs.

The fame of Boucherajee is said to be principally, if not entirely, owing to Wullubh Bhut, a Mewara Brahmin, of Ahmedabad, who, about the year A D 1744, composed many ballad poems in her praise, which, in a collected form constitute the Boucherajee Pooran. He celebrates her under the style of Doorgâ, a goddess to whom, however, the name of Boucherâjee is not otherwise attributed. No image is used in any of the numerous temples which have been, at different places in Goozerat, erected to the honour of Shree Boucherajee. The object of worship is a square panel covered with pieces of tinsel, and placed in a niche which fronts the rising sun. At the Nowrattra, and similar festivals, Koolces and others, when their children or friends are threatened with death, present to Boucherajee, in addition to the usual fire sacrifice, vicarious offerings of animals, usually the goat or the calf of the buffalo. The sacrifice is performed in the open air, at the altar called 'Chichur,' in front of the great temple. At other times sacrifice of liquor and flesh is offered to Boucherajee publicly by Rajpoots, Koolces, and others, and secretly, at night time, by Brahmins and Wâneeas, who practise a species of Shuktee worship, and call themselves of the sect of the Mata. These offerings are consumed by the worshippers after presentation. Brahmins and Wâneeas also offer live cocks to the Mâtâ placing them in the niche where she is worshipped. These accumulate, and are usually very numerous about the temple. A story is told of one of these cocks, which having been

cooked and eaten by an audacious Mohummedan, burst through his belly, and came forth alive —

He ate a cock
In oil having cooked it,
From the Mlech's body,
You called it, Bechura !

Whence the people of Goozerat say to a person who keeps back from another what is due to him, 'Take care, lest it 'prove a Boucherajee's cock to you' Lame, blind, and other impotent persons, persons desiring a son, or other blessing, make vows to Boucherajee, they approach her temple, and there remain seated beside the Man Surowur, abstaining from all food until they fancy that they have heard the Māta promising to them the accomplishment of their desires, when they arise and return home Those who are indebted to Boucherajee for the gift of a son, gratefully call him after her name, 'Bechur' Vows to Boucherajee are made even by persons professing the Jam religion

The officiating priests of this goddess are Brahmins but the musicians and some of the other servants are Mohummedans The owners of the temple's revenues are persons called Kumālees said to be about one hundred in number, of both sexes, and of all ages and who assert themselves to have been created by the goddess Though they worship Boucherajee and bear about her trident, they nevertheless profess the Mohummedan religion, a fact which they account for by pretending to have been forcibly converted by Allah ood deen Only the less valuable offerings, however are the property of the Kumālees, those which are more costly being reserved under the care of the Gunkowar's officers, for the expenses of the temple The right of the Kumālees to even the share which they enjoy is, moreover disputed by the Rajpoot landholders of the neighbouring village of Kālree A few years ago, these, to the number of about forty, simultaneously entered the precincts of Boucherajee by the three doors and put to death as many of the Kumālees as they could find Their victims, about ten in number, were buried outside the gate of

[For the legend of the creation of the Kamalia attendants on the goddess Bahuchara or Bechrajī, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vii 612]

Boucherajee, the murderers having for the time effected their escape. A class still more degraded than the Kumdees is also to be found in the service of Shree Boucherajee—the Pweeas,¹ who are eunuchs, and who, if universal belief be true, prostitute themselves to unnatural practices. They wear the dress of females, with the male turban. They are about four hundred in number, of whom the half reside at Teekur, near Hulwud, while others rove about the country extorting alms, by the usual means of intimidation and annoyance, employed by other classes of wandering ascetics, both Hindoo and Mohammedan. Some of the Pweeas, it is commonly asserted, have amassed considerable wealth.

A few miles from the temple of Boucherajee is the town of Detroj—‘the Heart of the Choonwal.’ The Devee has another temple there, which some consider to be her original shrine. She is the family goddess of the Koolce chiefs, called Thakurras, of that neighbourhood, and until lately, a festival was held annually at Detroj on the day before the Nowrattra, when the assembled Thakurras sacrificed thirteen buffalo calves upon her altar. The wild chieftains used however, on these occasions to inflame themselves with drink, and quarrels frequently terminating in bloodshed, invariably ensued. The fair of the Matâ at Detroj has therefore, of late years been suppressed but the Thakurras still on the appointed day, repair separately to the borders of Detroj and sacrifice, each of them, a buffalo calf in Boucherajee’s honor.

The head of a branch of the royal Solunkhee house became connected say the bards of the Choonwal with a Koolceen of Detroj but at what time this took place is not known. His descendants intermingled with the Koolces, and one of them, Kânjee, surnamed the Rat,² or barber held forty four villages from whence was derived the name of ‘Choonwal.’³

¹ [For the Pavya eunuch attendants on the goddess see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vii, 613.]

² A corruption probably, of the word *Rawut*, meaning a war like chief.

³ *Choonwalees-gum* meaning forty four villages. These Rajpoot chiefs heading tribes of aboriginal descent, afford an exact parallel to the foreign leaders of Highland clans in Scotland. ‘It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that when the great families at the head of the High

Once on a time, it is said, a bard from Jāmnugger, named *Jhār Guduwee*, came to *Detroj*, on his return from a pilgrimage

'land tribes have been traced far back, they have generally been found to be of Teutonic race. The chiefs of the Macdonalds, Macleods, and Mackintoshes, were of Norwegian blood. Those of the Frasers, Gordons, Campbells, Cumins, and many others, were Norman. It seems as if the Celtic people—energetic, brave, and enduring as they were, as followers—required, like some oriental races, the leadership of captains issuing from races better fitted for organising and commanding. In some instances, the foreign family adopted a purely Celtic patronymic, from the name of the sept of which they were the leaders. In other cases, such as the Gordons and Frasers, the sept, probably absorbing various small tribes, and admitting to its bosom many stray members, owning strange varieties of uncouth Celtic denominations, took the name of the leader, hence, we find the purest Erse spoken by people enjoying the Norman names of a Gordon or a Cumin. But, whether the chief adopted the name of the tribe, or the tribe that of the chief, the unyielding influence of old national customs and peculiarities prevailed over the higher civilisation of the leaders, and their families gradually adapted themselves in speech and method of life to the people over whom they held sway. The same phenomenon was exhibited in Ireland, where the "degenerate English," who, living from generation to generation among the native Celtic Irish, had adopted the customs and costume of those they were expected to civilise, elicited the ceaseless denunciations of the English government, and the penal wrath of Parliament'—*Vide Burton's Life of Simon, Lord Lovat*.

The following is a list of the Rajpoot Koollee Thakurras, of Gozerat — *The Solunkhees*, of Kookwāv, Bhunkorā, Chuncar, and Dekhāwara, in the Choonwal, *the Mulrānas*, of Kutosun, Junjoowarā, and Punar, *the Pithors*, of Ghantee and Wāghpoor, on the banks of the Sabhermuttee, *the Dabhees*, of Ghorasur, in the Churotur, *the Chohans*, of Umleeara, in the Myhee Kānta, and *the Waghelas*, of Kakurej. In the case of each of these families, their first connection with the Koollees separated them at once from the Rajpoot clans to which they belonged, and reduced them, of necessity, ever after to the adoption of the manners and customs of the Koollees, though, in most cases, modified so as to approach more nearly to those of the pure Hindoo tribes. [Since the settlement of the Mairs in Gujarat reverses of fortune, especially the depression of the Rājputs under the yoke of the Musalmans in the fourteenth century, did much to draw closer the bond between the middle and higher grades of the warrior class. Then many Rājputs sought shelter among the Kolis and married with them, leaving descendants who still claim a Rājput origin and bear the names of Rājput families. Apart from this, and probably the result of an original sameness of race, in some parts of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār intermarriage goes on between the daughters of Talaldia Kolis and the sons of Rājputs. In this respect the relations between Kolis and Rājputs are closer than those between Kolis and

to Benares and put up at Kanjee Rat's house, where he was very well received and presented with a horse. The Charun going home praised Kanjee Rat very much in the Jam's presence, mentioning that it was because he was the Jam's family bard that he had been so well received. The Jam upon this sent a dress of honor to Kanjee Rat. The Putel of Detroj whose name was Gopee, was all powerful in the town at this time. He was envious of the honor paid to Kanjee Rat, and sent him orders to quit the town. Kanjee retired, accordingly, from Detroj and took up his residence at Jāngura pura, four miles off. When the day devoted to the obsequies of deceased progenitors came round, Kanjee Rāt sent a torch bearer into Detroj to ask for milk as he was preparing for the performance of his father's anniversary ceremonies. The torch bearer procured milk from house to house, and at last went to Gopee putel's, and told him that he too must give milk. The putel flew into a passion, and caused his servants to break the vessel in which the torch bearer carried the milk he had collected. Kanjee Rat's servant, therefore, was obliged to return to his master, weeping for the failure of his mission. The Rat was very much hurt at the putel's conduct, but thought it better to dissemble for the present. At this time a Charun came to Kanjee's lodging and when he had sung a song he begged the Rat for a silk scarf. Thus Kanjee had it not in his power to give, he sorrowfully repeated a verse,—

In recompense of what sin was I born
The son of a great father *
A mendicant asks me for silk
At home I have not even cotton

Kanjee resolved within himself that he would go and sacrifice his life before the Matā at Detroj. Meanwhile he lay down to rest. In the night the Matā appeared to him in a dream and said, 'Be not afraid. Come to Detroj the day before the Nowrattra. A buffalo calf will meet you outside

Kanbis or between Rajputs and Kanbis. And it would appear that at least in a considerable section of the class the distinction between Rājput and Koli is one rather of order and rank than of race and tribe. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Gujarat population, ix, 1, pp 238-9. See also the article on Kolis in the *Kathiawar Gazetteer* pp 130-142.]

' the village thus you must sacrifice to me, and then you may plunder the putel's house victoriously. As a proof of the reality of this dream, I give you a silk scarf, which you may present to the mendicant.' Having thus spoken, the Mātā became invisible. Kanjee awoke, and found a silk scarf lying beside him. In the morning he gave it to the Charun. *When the day before the Nowritta arrived, he assembled his friends two hundred in number, well mounted and armed, and with them advanced to Detroj. At the gate of the town he found a very fine buffalo calf belonging to the putel. He killed it before the Matī, and sprinkled her with its blood. At this time the padishah had a garrison in a fort outside the gate of Detroj. Kanjee Rat posted a hundred horsemen to observe the garrison, and taking the remaining hundred with him went to the putel's house, and ordered him to pay him obeisance. This Gopee putel refused to do, whereupon Kanjee slew him, with six of his sons. The seventh son he saved alive, and Kaleedas, the present Putel of Detroj is that son's descendant.*

A complaint was made at Delhi that the putel had been put to death and the padishah sent Azim Khan to reduce Kanjee to submission. There was at that time a very extensive forest about Detroj called the '*Jinguro Forest*' of which the following story is related.—When Dhara Shah¹ fled before his brother, he came to Detroj and Kanjee Rat offered to protect him there. Dhara asked where the fort was in which he was to be sheltered. To which Kanjee replied that the forest was stronger than any fort. Dhara answered, 'The padishah's camels would eat this forest, and the timber of it would make stakes for fastening his horses. However, it is well in you that you have so much courage.' Thus speaking, Dhara Shah pursued his journey to Smilh. Now Azim Khan, when he arrived, lost no time in clearing the forest, upon which Kanjee fled to Kutorun, where a connection of his, named Jeswant Singh, was living. They jointly opposed Azim Khan, but were at last obliged to fly to Junjoowāra where

¹ [Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan. Kanji Koli conducted him through Gujarat to the confines of Kachh, when he was fleeing from Aurangzeb. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 134.]

they were received by Jchojee Mukwáná. The whole of the allies were, however, at length compelled to fly to Thurrá, in the Kákurej country, where a Koolee Thákor, named Koompojee, then ruled. Koompojee joined them, and they continued their retreat to the hill called 'Kurjî,' where they held out for twelve years, living the life of outlaws, until at length a waneçá of Chundoor, named Kurum Shee, who was employed by Azim Khán as his revenue minister, effected a reconciliation between them and the padishah, and procured the restoration of their pergunnahs. The Thákurrás bound themselves, therefore, to Kurum Shee, that none of their race should gallop a horse near Chundoor, nor injure any of its inhabitants.

The Shah's court listened to the complaint about Gopee.
They said, 'Will no one seize Kan'
'Let us send a stout Umeer to Goozerat
'To crush this Jānguro Kanuro'

With honor Azim Khán was sent
To set crooked things straight
Kan and Jeswunt, fighting, he drove out,
With them fled Raja Jesheeo

Kumo¹ was made Deewan by Azim
Several rajas submitted to him
From fear of Azim, Thurra's lord fled,
The rajas, all of them, fled to Kurjurré

At Kurja they held out—praised be their valour!
Why should I make the story long?
Jeswunt, Kân, Koompraj, and Jesheeo,
The Ráthweo² protected like a hedge

From this time Kánjee Rát held Detroj without interruption, and attained to great power and fame. It is even said that the padishah conferred upon him royal insignia, a drum, bearers of silver rods, and a state umbrella.

Kánjee was succeeded by Ramsunghjee, Udebhanjee, and Nâronjee. The plinth of the funeral temple of this latter chief still exists at Bhunkorá, in the Choonwál, and an inscription thereon states, that 'Rát Shree Nâronjee's chutree' was

¹ Kurumshee of Chundoor

² A title of Kurumshee's

erected by his brother, Shree Hureesunghjee, and his Koonwur, Shree Kanajee, in A. D. 1720

Kanajee, the younger, appears to have emulated the fame of his predecessor of the same name.

O ! Kanajee, Kanā a quiver,
Thou didst bind on thee in thine youth
Another could not support its weight
O ! *Dev descended chief of Detroj !*

Like Kanjee Rat, he was at war with the Mohunmedans

The world with outcries went before the Shah,
The padishah heard the true word they said,
'As before in Agra, Janguro Kanuro was famed
'A Kanuro Janguro has arisen again'

He has wall pieces and warriors his little drums resound,
Black elephants he keeps with him does Nundo a son
His subjects cry, 'What great matter is it to slay footmen ?
'He slew a nowab with his banner and flag'

He is a striker of many blows he is of great strength,
Three kinds of army he leads to crush his enemies
He makes war music sound, he destroys difficult forts
He adorns his father's seat does the grandson of Udebhan

Against the padishah continually he carries on war,
The padishah's subjects suffer fear not to be allayed
'Wah wah !' cried out the courtiers of the Jani
'Kano padishah destroys the troopers of the Shah.

Another verse thus celebrates his generosity—a virtue as necessary to the bardic hero as valour itself —

Indra rains but four months,
You rain the whole twelve,
He sends prosperity sometimes,
You are ever relieving the poverty of poets,
He thunders in the sky,
You thunder up on earth
He rains money and grain
You rain horses,
Detroj I am ! giver of gifts
I behold you increasing like the moon
O Kāna son of Nundo,
I pronounce you to be equal to Indra !

Kanajee appears to have held only a fourth share of the Choonwal, which had been already divided—at what time is

tales to Bhooapat Singh, and say that, from the Wāneccā's¹ coming to the durbār, the Thakor's name was spoken ill of. Bhooapat Singh was enraged at the thought, and slew his mother with his sword. The Uteet thereupon fled, and never returned, but his disciple took possession of the monastery.

At this time the 'Meleekurs,' or forayers, of Koompojee Mukwanī of Punar ranged the whole country from Wudwan and Lānree on one side, to Ahmedabad on the other. The Rājā of Sāmund gave Koompojee a horse every year at the Decwalee, and arranged that his territories should be exempted from forays. Koompojee levied black mail on many other villages also. Now Jethā Putel, of Mandul, was in great favor with the Mahrattas and used to precede the Peshwah's army when it came into the country to levy tribute from the Bhoomiccā chiefs. At one time two lakhs of rupees of tribute were due to the Peshwah by the Rāj of Hulwad. Jethā Putel went there to arrange for the payment of these arrears. At that time the Bice² was managing the estate in the minority of the Koonwur. She told Jethā Putel that she had not the means of paying the arrears at that time, her country having been but lately wasted by the chief of Wudwan, who allowed her not a moment's respite. Jethā Putel threatened that if his demand were not complied with he would enforce it by firing the town. So saying he went away. Now Koompojee was the adopted brother of the Bice, and she sent for him, and told him that she should never be at rest until Jethā Putel was dead. Jethā came about the same time to a Punar village called Churceāloo, to fasten a garland on behalf of the Peshwah. Koompojee took the opportunity to quarrel with him, and slew him with his sword—a deed which gave great satisfaction to all the Bhoomiccās.

After this Koompojee made a foray upon Od Kumod, near Ahmedabad, with a hundred and fifty horsemen in chain armor. He drove off the cattle. There was however, in the village a post of sixty Mahratta horse. These horsemen came upon the 'war,' but Koompojee engaged them and repulsed

¹ [There seems to be some mistake here. The author apparently means 'Uteet'. *Alita* is a Śaivite ascetic. cf. vol. i. p. 358 n.]

² [The Rānī Jyōba, mother of Jāśvantsin, *ibid.* A. 429.]

his demand for the three villages, which was again rejected by Bhooput Singh. It was near harvest time, and the grain was ripening in the fields. Bhooput Singh laid them all waste, and leaving his village, placed his wife and children at Veerungim, and 'went out.' He had three hundred horse of his own, and his allies swelled his force to the number of two thousand. He plundered the Guikowar's villages.

Bhooput Singh used the royal drums and umbrella which had been granted by the *padishah* to his ancestor, Hanjee Rat. While he was 'out,' Mullhar Row began to destroy his house with his cannon. A Charun sneeringly said,—'What wonder 'is there that Bhooput Singh should fight, but now the very 'bricks of his house are turned warriors!' Mullhar Row was ashamed of his proceeding when he heard this and retired. Bhooput Singh continued for a long time to be a terror to the Mahrattas,—

Kurce and Bhunkora fought,
 Saltara and the Jām heard it,
 Bhooput went to the battle
 As Ram against Rawun
 Descendant of Kina! the enemies
 Flesh devourer,
 Your sword
 Has become a terrible *Dikru*
 Women of the Mahrattas
 How can ye wear ornaments
 Over your heads hangs a great terror
 For ready to engage stands Bhooputo
 Mullhar Row did not perceive the snake's house
 Unwittingly he set his foot thereon
 The mighty serpent awoke,
 Bhooputo, the invincible warrior
 Kurce he will dig up by the roots
 He will force them to sue for peace
 Bhooputo will enjoy the land
 He will strike Fow Mullar
 Senseless many swaggered,
 Mahrattas and Toorkoras,¹
 On all four sides your servants—
 You made them O Bhooputo!

¹ A name of contempt for Toorks or Mohummedans

When a son was born to Mulhar Row, at Kurce, a servant of his went into the market to purchase ginger for the use of the Ránee, that root being much used by Hindoo women as a tonic after child birth. The servant kept on saying, 'We must have the very best ginger in your shop.' The grocer said, 'Bhooput Singh's mother has eaten all the best ginger, there's none left now but what's dry.' The damsel went home, and mentioned what the grocer had said to Mulhar Row. He was enraged, and plundered the grocer's house. When Bhooput Singh heard this, he made up to the grocer his loss. In this way, Mulhar Row and Bhooput Singh were opposed for many years. At length when Mulhar Row went to war with the English and the Baroda state, he called in Bhooput Singh from Junjoowara to his aid, and when Mulhar Row was made prisoner it was to Bhooput Singh's care that he confided his family.

The following anecdotes are related of this chief —

The Katee of Dhándulpoor, named Godud, was attacked by the Nowaub of Joonagurh. He sought aid from the Ráj of Hulwud, but that chief was afraid of the nowaub and refused to assist him. Godud Katee then sent for Bhooput Singh who went to Dhándulpoor and defended it successfully.

The chief of Hulwud had encroached upon the lands of the gráma of Methan, who is the head of a younger branch of his family. Upon this the Methan Jhalá gave his daughter to Bhooput Singh, as other chiefs had given daughters on like occasions to Mohammedans, and the Ráj of Hulwud from fear of Bhooput Singh withdrew immediately from the lands which he had seized.

Bhooput Singh used to give feasts to Brahmuns on the twelfth days of both divisions of the month. He maintained also a charitable establishment in his village for the poor and forbore from plundering the poor, though he made war upon rajas. He died in A. D. 1814.

In the neighbourhood of the Solunkhee Koolcees of the Choonwál are the Mukwana Koolcees who possess the estates of Junjoowara, Kutosun and Punar. Kesur the Mukwano,¹

had, in addition to his son, Hupāl, the ancestor of the Jhālā clan, two other sons, Wujepāl and Shāmtājee. Wujepāl was wounded and taken prisoner in a battle against the Mohummedans, and became a *Moleculim*. His descendants are the Mohummedan chiefs of Mandoowā in the Myhee Kantū, who bore the family title of Lāl Meeh, and have been alluded to in the story of Row Veerum Dev of Pedur¹. Shāmtājee took forcible possession of the town of Sānthul, at which his descendant, Kanojee resided in the days of Mahmood Begurra. Kanojee married the daughter of a Bheel chieftain, and thus lost caste, he served, however, with distinction under the sultan, and Mahmood, therefore, made him a grant of the estate of Kutosun, which consisted of eighty-four townships. Thirteenth in descent from Kanojee was Naronjee, Thākōr of Kutosun from whose time the fortunes of the family may be very minutely traced, exhibiting, perhaps, the best example which Goozerat can furnish of the effects of the Hindoo custom of subdividing landed property. It is not, however, our intention to enter upon this task, as the subject, though interesting to the student of land tenures, is unattractive to the general reader. The exploits of the Kutosun Mukwanās do not furnish so good a field for bardic tale as those of their neighbours of Bhunkorā, but the names of Ujbojee and Ugrojee, grandsons of Naronjee, are not without fame in their way, and are celebrated in a ballad, from which we select, in conclusion, a few passages. The following is a picture of Ujbojee's court at Kutosun :—

' Drums sounded in the durbar, water was sprinkled on
' the ground; many chiefs came thither to seek sanctuary,
' standing with their palms joined, they made their petitions
' Before the descendant of Kānojee, as before Indra, sounded
' the thirty-six kinds of music, before him learned men read
' the Veds, sugar was supplied to the guests, goats flesh, and
' flesh of hog, opium and saffron were daily distributed,
' dancers performed before Ujbo, always in "color and
' music"² he sported, a pair of bugles sounded before him,
' the singers swinging, elephant like, from side to side, sang

¹ Vide vol. 1, pp. 378 ff., &c

² 'Rung rag,' festivity

'songs, in spending money, the chief was as free as Bulee Raja ;
 'at his cook room, daily, rice and milk, and all kinds of am-
 'brosia like food were prepared ; over his house always floated
 'the flag of Dhurum ;¹ such was the lord of the Choonwál, who
 'issued his commands even to the pádisháh. Well didst
 'thou rise, Sun like Mukwáno ! son of Jusá ! the father of
 'Hundoos, and the boundary ! Nor less famous was his
 'brother, Uguresh ; the brothers recalled to men's minds the
 'sons of Dusruth '

Ujbojee was, according to the bard, an universal conqueror, he defeated alike, 'the Show Raja's army, the army of the
 'Dehkanees,' and 'the army of Delhi,' but he did not neglect still more congenial achievements ; 'from village to
 'village he *fixed his grás*,² or imposed his black mail, 'every
 'day he gained great fame in plundering His Umeers were
 'the Vishrodeea, the Punára, the Murtoleeá,' and a vast number of other half clad lords of hamlets, he was not, however, deficient in wardrobe himself, for the bard particularly specifies that 'he dressed in silk and jewels '

Ujbojee established his claim to a more honorable reputation, by throwing open his granaries to the poor, on the occasion of that terrible famine of A D 1813, the recollection of which, like the echo of some mournful strain that will not pass away, is sure to darken the most joyous verse of the bard —

'The earth was distressed, rajas were without food, Rows
 'and Ránis had not a grain to bestow, husband and wife
 'deserted each other, parents abandoned their children, the
 'practice of religious giving was forgotten, charitable estab-
 'lishments were broken up, the places of water were dry,
 'not a drop fell from the heavens At the time when daily
 'from each village came such news as this, when all the
 'country was a beggar, at that time did the descendant of
 'Káno unfurl his flag, open he threw his stores, though other
 'rajas would not admit strangers to their villages, Ujubesh
 'received them all If Indra remained angry in Swerga,
 'this Indra upon earth, at least, was propitious, he strove to
 'drive the famine from the land.'

¹ That is to invite comers to receive charity or religious gifts

The following is an account of a war with the Mohummedans :—

'At this time, two Toorks ruled at Kuree, Āmbo Khān and Lembo: they oppressed the country. When they heard of the fame of Ujbo and Uguro, they wrote to Kuto-sun to demand tribute and submission. Ujbo was furious when he heard the message. Uguro restrained him from slaying the messenger. They sent for the minister, Deepchund, the son of Mudunshā; an irritating answer they made him write to the Toorkurās, reminding them of the exploits of Kesur, and of the lords of Keruntēe gurh. The big bearded Moslem assembled full of pride, they pitched their camp at Dāngurwoo. When the news reached Kuto-sun, Ujbo called in his brothers, Tejul, whose sword had never broken, Meghrāj, Jugto, and Sooruj Singh. Uguro, stroking his moustache, addressed them; the brothers swore they would do the duties of brotherhood. Vikumshee, the poet, cried, "Wāh! wāh!" he was pleased when he saw their courage; he incited them by singing the songs of their fathers, he sang of Shāmtājee, of Sānthul, of Hurkhā, Showāee, of Kāno. Many Koolees came together, the twanging of bows sounded, each bore his quiver at his back, some were horsemen, some footmen, some soldiers of the night. Jhorā and Jussā came with the men of Jukānā, Hemo came, of Ugurjā, Māno of Murtolce, and many others. We need not, however, enter upon the description of the battle, which is put together after the established bardic receipt, the Shesh Nāg trembled, Hindoo met Mohummedan as mountain meets mountain, the stream of blood flowed like a river, Shiva appeared, as usual on such occasions, with his staff of Veers, goblins, flesh-eaters, &c. Sooruj held in his horses, the chariot of the sun was stayed. 'Upsuras and Howris came to carry to their celestial homes Hindoos and Moslem. Āmbo and Lembo, who turned not to flight strove with the sword armed Kshutree.'

All this is usual, the following, however, is peculiar —

'When Uguresh excited him, Ujbo determined upon falling on the enemy by night, tiger like, as well as fighting them by day. From tent to tent he dug mines, money and

'jewels arms and clothes he carried away In both ways
'the enemy received blows, having nothing to eat away
'they scampered of men and horses were left but a few
Reduced to such straits as these the Mohummedans were
glad to avail themselves of the offers of the Thakor of Wur
sori who now came forward and effecting a settlement of
the matter in dispute caused the strife to cease '

CHAPTER IX

THE MYHEE KANTA

THE fiscal and military division of Goozerat known to the Mahrattas by the name of the Myhee Kanta was not as the name implied confined to the banks of the Myhee but extended northwards from that river to Poseenâ Umbijee and the Bunas and included in fact all that portion of Goozerat proper which required the presence of a military force for the realization of the Guikowar's tribute. The natural features which we have described in the opening of this work, were in a great degree the causes of the very different state of subjection into which the various parts of the province had fallen. The level country was almost entirely reduced under the direct government of the Mahrattas though the jungles of the Choonwal and the banks of the Myhee as far south as Baroda still furnished shelter to independent tribes and many villages in Mondel Napâr, Dholka and others of the richest districts including those which belonged to the Rajpoot land holders and in particular to the Waghelas required an annual armament to enforce payment of their tribute. As the smaller streams branched off, many independent communities appeared among the ravines and jungle on their banks as these rivulets increased in number and the forest grew thicker and more continuous the independent territories also became more frequent and were found in more solid masses until at length the still untamed principalities of Eedur and Loonwarâ were reached amidst the mountains of the north east.

Many Koonbees wancees and others of the peaceable classes were included among the population of the Myhee Kanta but the castes which bore arms and in whom the whole authority of the country was vested were Rajpoots Koolees or Mohum medans. Of these the Koolees were by far the most numerous though they were for the most part found under Rajpoot rule. The Rajpoots themselves were of two descriptions—the Mar warees, who had accompanied the reigning family of Eedur in its emigration from Jodhpoor, and the adherents of the

ancient Rows, whom we have already beheld driven to a last retreat at Pol. The former resembled the clans of Marwar in their costume and manners but, in their present sequestered situation, had contracted an additional ruggedness. They were said to be very brave but stupid slothful unprincipled, and devoted to the use of opium and intoxicating liquors. The Relwars and other clans who still professed allegiance to the descendants of Row Sonungjee were considered to be more civilized than the Marwarrees more honest more submissive but less active and warlike. All the Rajpoots used swords and shields matchlocks and spears. They often wore defensive armor either of leather or of chain and placed it upon their horses they sometimes but rarely, carried also bows. Their plan of war was to defend their villages they seldom except after an ineffectual defence took to the woods like the Koolees and were quite incapable of the desultory warfare so congenial to the temper of the latter tribe. The Koolees or Bheels (for though the former would resent the classification the distinctions between them need not here be noticed) were as has been observed by far the most numerous of the inhabitants of the Myhee Kanta. They were more diminutive in stature than the other inhabitants and their eyes wore an expression of liveliness and cunning. Their turbans if they used any, were small their common head dress was a cloth carelessly wrapped round the temples their clothes were usually few and coarse they were seldom seen without a quiver of arrows and a long bamboo bow, which was instantly bent on any alarm or even on the sudden approach of a stranger. The natives described them as wonderfully swift active and hardy, incredibly patient of hunger thirst fatigue and want of sleep, vigilant enterprising secret fertile in expedients and admirably calculated for night attacks surprises and ambuscades. Their arms and habits rendered them unfit to stand in the open field.¹

¹ The Scottish Lowlanders entertained a similar opinion of the Highland clans. A ballad entitled Bonny John Seton has the following verses —

The Highland men they reck never men
At handling sword and shield
But yet they are too naked men
To stay in battle field.

and they were timid when attacked, but had, on several occasions, shown extraordinary boldness in assaults, even upon stations occupied by regular British troops. They were independent in spirit, and although all professed robbers, were said to be remarkably faithful when trusted, and were, certainly, never sanguinary. They were averse to regular industry, exceedingly addicted to drunkenness, and very quarrelsome when intoxicated. Their delight was plunder, and nothing was so welcome to them as a general disturbance in the country. The numbers of the Koolees would have rendered them formidable had they been capable of union, but though they had a strong fellow feeling for each other they never regarded themselves as a nation, nor ever made common cause against an external enemy.

The revenue of the state of Eedur amounted to four lakhs of rupees, without including its dependencies of Ahmednugger and Morasa. In the time of the Rows the Eedur territory had been much more extensive, but the pergunnahs of Kherâloo and Poorantej, had been conquered by the Sultans of Ahmedabad, while other districts had been absorbed by the Rânâs of Mewar, or the Râwûls of Doongurpoor. The Muhlâ raja of Eedur possessed himself no more than a revenue of one lakh or one lakh and a half, the remainder was assigned to eight Rajpoot chiefs, who held of him under the designation of 'puttawuts'¹ on condition of military service and a small pecuniary payment. There were besides, between twenty and thirty Rajpoot and Koolee chiefs, many of whom had held lands of the old Rows, for military service, but who now paid, instead, an annual tribute to the Muhlârîja. The whole Eedur country was tributary to the Guikowâr, the levy being made

The Highland men are clever men
At handling sword or gun
But yet they are too naked men
To bear the cannon's rung
For a cannon's roar in a summer night
Is like thund'ler in the air—
There's not a man in Highland dress
Can face the cannon's roar

¹ [Pattelat, *pattiyat* 'the holder of a grant of land, a tributary chief.' Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan* : 182.]

in the first place upon the Muharaja and his puttawuts, but falling ultimately on the people of the country, upon whom an extraneous tax was imposed to meet it. The Muharaja's personal force consisted of only fifty horse and one hundred and fifty foot, but as occasion required, it was increased to a much larger number, by the employment of mercenaries, of whom hands were never wanting. The puttawuts' contingent was about one thousand strong, horse and foot, and there existed a further force of six hundred military vassals.

The chiefs of Ahmednugger, Morâs, and Bayur were relations of the Muharaja of Cedur, and held territory which was included in that principality, though they were in reality almost entirely independent. The chief of Ahmednugger, in particular, was the mortal foe of his kinsman of Cedur, and their enmity had of late been raised to the highest pitch by a dispute regarding Morâs, which the Muharaja claimed as a fief that had reverted to him on the death of the last chief, while the Ahmednugger prince continued to hold it for his son, who was, as he contended, the rightful heir by adoption.

The eight 'puttawuts' of Cedur were (with the exception of one who was a Chohan) of Rathor blood, distinguished by the family names of Jodha, Champawut, Koompawut, and others, which marked their respective descent from Jodha, the founder of Jodhpoor, his brother Champa, his nephew, Koompo, or other members of the reigning family of Marwar. Their respective rank was strictly settled, and the honors assigned to each were carefully defined. The Koompawut of Oondunee, the highest in rank, was preceded by a silver rod, and was allowed to sound the kettle drums at the head of his train, he was entitled to recline in a litter and to use the royal 'chamur,' or fan of horse hair. His lands were free of all revenue payable to the head of the state, when he appeared in the presence, or retired from it, the Muharaja rose from his cushion and embraced him and his place in the court was the first on the right hand of the sovereign. Perhaps the most highly valued of his privileges, however, were two, which will doubtless appear strange ones to the European reader—he was entitled to wear a heavy anlet of gold and to smoke a golden hookah in the royal presence. The noble of lowest rank, who

possessed, however, the most ample estates, was the Chohân of Mondeytee. He enjoyed the fewest privileges granted to any of his order—the kettle-drums, and the state-embrace of the Muharaja.

Next in rank to the nobles of the first class was the Barutjee, or royal bard, whose seat was in front of the Muharaja's cushion, and who received the prince's salutation, both on entering and on retiring from the court.

There were other military vassals, who, holding lands in the districts (or zillahs) of the great nobles, were called 'Zil-layuts.' Some of these were received by the Muhâraja on entering the presence, but no notice was taken by him of their departure. They maintained each of them a small number of horsemen, which never exceeded ten, and followed the noble of the zillah.

The revenue affairs of the state were conducted by a minister called Karbharee, or Deewân, usually a member of the commercial classes. Other relations, however, were entrusted to one of the Sindars, who bore the title of Prudhân, and whose constant presence with the Muharaja was indispensable. No step could be taken by the prince, which affected one of the nobles, without the concurrence of the Prudhân, and a summons for attendance signed by the Muhâraja, but wanting the counter signature of this minister, would have been disregarded by the puttawut, or even considered as evidence of a treacherous intention.

The Eedur territory, though open towards the west, was generally very capable of defence. It abounded in rivers, hills, and forests. The soil was fertile, and innumerable mango trees evinced that it had once been cultivated, the greater portion was now, however, overgrown with jungle.

The Myhee Kânta district contained also the Rajpoot principality of Loonâwârâ, of whose fortunes we possess unfortunately no record. It included, in addition, the territory of Dantâ and the possessions of numerous small chiefs (each of them leading from fifteen hundred to three thousand fighting men, and seated in the neighbourhood of fastnesses of very great strength), of whom the most considerable may be divided into four or five clusters. The Koolce chiefs of Umlecârâ,

Lohar, and Neermalee, with the Mukwana landholders of Mandoowa, Poonidura, and Kural, occupied an area of about fifteen miles in the neighbourhood of the river Watruk. A second cluster, of nine Koolee villages, lay on the Sibhermutee in the pergunnah of Beejipoor, immediately to the south of these were the Rajpoot estates of Wursora, Mansa, and Pathaipoor. The Koolees of the Kakurej near the Bunas, and those of the Choonwal, were estimated at the respective strength of eight thousand, and five thousand bowmen, but their country was not strong, and they had ceased to be troublesome to their neighbours.

The ruins of numerous and extensive castles, built by the Mohammedan monarchs with the view of checking the 'Mewasces,' or refractory tribes are still to be seen in unfrequented parts of the country. Such measures were probably not very effectual, even when the Moslem power was in full vigour, and in the decline of the Mogul empire the garrisons were withdrawn and the country was abandoned to its turbulent inhabitants. The state of affairs was altered on the appearance of the Mahrattas, who, without building forts or attempting to assume the direct government, carried on their usual harassing inroads until they extorted a tribute, which they continued to increase as opportunity offered.

The Mahratta Moolubgeeree force,¹ in the Myhee Kanta, used to canton during the rains wherever its presence seemed most required and for the whole of the remaining eight months of the year it was constantly in motion. When the tribute was not paid on demand a horseman, entitled to levy a fixed sum every day, called a Mohul, was despatched to the chief. In case this measure proved ineffectual the force moved to the chief's lands, when if the presence of such undisciplined visitors, by its own inconvenience, failed to bring him to terms, they proceeded to cut down his crop, spoil his trees and waste his lands. These measures were generally rendered necessary by the imposition of some addition to the tribute, but many villages also made it a point of honor not to pay unless a force came against them. In cases of extreme obstinacy in refusing tribute, or in committing or encouraging depredations, the

¹ [See *Dombaj Gazetteer*, vol. vii (Baroda) chapter vii *passim*.]

Guikowar officer entered on open hostilities. He generally endeavoured, by a forced march, to surprise the Mewasees in their villages, and seize their chief or their women. If he succeeded, the Mewasees submitted, but if he failed, he 'struck' (that is to say, burned) the village, and the people, especially if they were Koolees, retired to the jungle, and set his attacks at defiance. The strongest Koolee villages were open on the side furthest from the river, and the only object of such defences as they erected on other points appeared to be to secure a retreat to the ravines. The facilities afforded by these recesses, whether for flight or concealment, inspired the Koolees with the greatest confidence, while the roads leading along the supposed ridges were by no means equally encouraging to the assailants. In such cases the Koolees, with their bows and matchlocks, would often keep the Guikowar troops for a long time at bay. But if they were dislodged they scattered, and, by long and rapid marches, united again at a concerted point beyond the reach of their enemies. In the meantime they sometimes attempted night attacks on the camp, in which the suddenness of their onset often struck a panic into the undisciplined troops opposed to them, but they more frequently avoided the enemy, and annoyed him indirectly by the depredations they committed on the villages in which he was interested. In the meantime the Guikowar chiefs endeavoured to obtain intelligence, and to cut up the Koolees or seize their families. They also tried by all means to prevent their receiving provisions, and otherwise punished all who supported them. If this plan were successful the Koolees would subsist for a long time on the flowers of the Mowra tree, and on other esculent plants, but in time the bulk of their followers would fall off and return to their villages while the chief, with the most determined of his adherents, remained in the jungle, and either was neglected or easily eluded the pursuit of the Mahrattas, until he could, by some compromise, or even by submission, effect his restoration to his village. There were many instances in which quarrels with the Koolees had terminated still less favorably to the Guikowar. The village of Umletâra, though defended on one side only by a narrow strip of jungle and a hedge of dry thorns stood a siege

of six months against a body of seven thousand men. The village was carried by assault ; but a part of the Koolees rallied, and the besiegers fled with the greatest precipitation, leaving their guns and four of their principal leaders on the field. On another occasion the inhabitants of Lohar, about one thousand strong, enticed a Guikowar force of ten thousand men through a long defile into the bed of the Watruk, and, while a small party made a show of resistance on the opposite bank, an ambuscade started up, and opened fire on the rear in the defile. The whole army immediately took to flight, and Babajee Appajee, who commanded it, with difficulty escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

When the affair was with Rajpoots these almost always defended their village, and that of Kurrorā, situated among strong ravines, on the banks of the Sabhermutee, once beat off several assaults of the Guikowār troops, and compelled them to raise the siege. The Rajpoots sometimes, though rarely, hired foreign mercenaries, and often called in Koolees, but the Koolees never had recourse to the assistance of any other tribe.

The Mahratta power was at its highest in the Myhee Kānta about the end of the eighteenth century, at the time when Shivram Gardce,¹ the commandant of regular infantry, whose name has been already mentioned, was employed in the settlement of the province. The disorders of the Guikowar government, subsequent to the death of Futtch Singh, did away with the effects of Shivram's successes, but about the year A D 1804, order was very effectually restored by Rughoonath Myheeput Row (or Kakajee), the cousin of Rowjee Appajee, and although the Guikowar troops had since then met with some reverses, they had never encountered any general spirit of resistance. The first interference of the British government

¹ [Shivram Gardce was an officer of Damaji Gaekwar, who commenced his *muldgaris* 1793-4, and became an expert in ascertaining the maximum sum which could be extorted. He enforced these enhanced tributes with much severity. He commanded 700 Hindustani sepoys in the army of Malharrao, the Jagirdar of Kadi, who caused trouble in Baroda on the death of Govindrao Gaekwar (1800), which was quelled by Major Walker (1802). See *Bombay Collector*, vol. vii (Baroda), pp. 204-5, 317, and chapter iv, *supra*.]

in the affairs of the Myhee Kanta took place in A D 1813, when Major Ballantine, following up the system which had been so ably introduced by Colonel Walker entered into engagements, on the part of the Guikowar, with all the tributary chiefs of the province. By some unaccountable mistake, however, *those terms were never either conformed to or formally annulled.* The Myhee Kanta was, during the period that ensued, entrusted to Bucha Jemadar, an officer of the Guikowar government who kept up a considerable force, and maintained the authority of the Mahrattas with some energy. He greatly increased the pecuniary payments of the chiefs and he chastised such of them as went into open rebellion, but he was unsuccessful in preventing depredation and loud and frequent complaints of the outrages of the Koolees were heard in the British districts. In A D 1818 the larger part of the Jemadar's force was called off on foreign service, and afterwards, the whole of the Mahratta troops having been withdrawn the province relapsed into nearly its former state of disorder. Three years afterwards the Myhee Kanta was visited by Mr Elphinstone, who then held the reins of government at Bombay, and under his direction a British agency was established in the province, with the general views of securing its tranquillity and of providing for the peaceful realization of the tribute possessed by the government of Baroda.¹

¹ [See Elphinstone's *Annals of Maharashtra* quoted in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. v. Appendix A. 1. 143.]

CHAPTER X

THE MUHARAJAS OF LEDUR—ANUND SINGH—BHIV SINGH—
BRUWALE SINGH—GUMBALLER SINGH

UJEET SINGH, say the Ledur bards, speaking of the Jodhpoor Raja of that name, was very famous. He placed seven shah-zadas on the throne, and unseated them again. In the end he placed Momud Shah¹ on the throne. For seven days Ujeet Singh's order was obeyed at Delhi, and five great rajas came to him for protection—those of Jeipoor, Jesulmer, Buhawalpoor, Seerohee, and Sheekur. After placing the padishah on the throne, Ujeet Singh remained three years at Delhi, and then returned to Jodhpoor, leaving Koonwur Ubhye Singh, with five thousand horse, to serve the padishah. One day the padishah took Ubhye Singh with him for a sail upon the Jumna. When they reached the middle of the stream the padishah ordered the Koonwur to be thrown into the water. Ubhye Singh asked what was the reason. The padishah told him he must write to his brother, Wukhut Singh, to put his father to death. Ubhye Singh, upon this caused Bhundree Rughoonath to write to Wukhut Singh, and tell him that he would give him Nagar on condition of his at once putting Ujeet Singh to death. When the letter reached Wukhut Singh, he went in the middle of the night, and put his father to death.² The Ranees prepared to become sutees, they took with them Ubhye Singh's younger brothers—Anund Singh, Race Singh, and Kishor Singh—in order that their eyes might not be put out according to the Jodhpoor custom. The Jodhpoor Raja's place of cremation was at Mundowur. When the Ranees arrived at that place they made the Koonwurs over to the Sirdars. Now Race Singh and Anund Singh were the sons of a Chohan Ranee, and Kishor Singh of a Bhateeranee.

¹ [Muhammad Shah was placed on the throne in 1719 by the Sayyids in succession to Farrukhsiyar. He was preceded by a number of phantom monarchs who only reigned a few weeks.]

² See this story in detail in *Tod's Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, II, 1028 ff.

They were entrusted to the care of the Chohan Sindars, Man Singh and Devceelas, and of Man Singh's Koonwur, Jorawur Singh. These Chohans held the Roeccha putta, the produce of which was *one lakh*—they abandoned it and went away with the Koonwurs, and halted at Chandela, fifteen kos east of Jodhpoor. Thakor Mokum Singh, the puttawut of Biroda in Marwar,—a putta of ten thousand rupees—was ordered by Wukhut Singh to pursue them and slay them, or bring them back. He mounted, therefore, and proceeded with eight hundred horse to Chandela. The three chiefs, beholding his approach, girded up their loins, and seated themselves in council, their twelve hundred horse being encamped around them. Mokum Singh dismounted at their tent, and asked for the Koonwurs. Mân Singh said that they had been entrusted to him by the sutces, and that he now made them over in the same way to Mokum Singh. As he spoke these words he presented also a dagger, and said, 'If you intend to slay them do so now.' Mokum Singh said, 'Thakor! you have done much that you have drawn me in along with you. Now, what befalls you must befall me.' The four chiefs retired together to a hill called Âdowâlo, in Marwar, and became outlaws. Their families were left at Kurneejee Mata's, at a Chârun village called Desanot in Bikaner—this Mata being very powerful to protect those who fly to her for refuge.

Now before this time the Champawut puttawuts of Sunula, viz. Showacc Singh, Man Singh, Pertap Singh, and Jeewundas, who held a putta of seventy thousand rupees, had had a quarrel with Raja Ujeet Singh, and their putta had been placed under attachment. They also had become outlaws, and were at this time at Âdowalo, their families having been left at Kurneejee Mata's. They had lately plundered a caravan of treasure passing from Ujmeer to the padishah at Delhi. When the Raj Koonwurs arrived at Âdowalo, the Châmpawuts made an offering of this treasure, and volunteered their services. Koonwur Ânund Singh accepted the offer, and at this time he made a promise to Mokum Singh Jodhâ, Man Singh Chohan, and Pertâp Singh Champawut, to the effect that if he obtained a kingdom he would confer a putta upon each of them as they were faithful to their lord. From Âdowalo the Koonwurs and

their partisans began to make forays upon Marwar, and it is still said of Man Singh Chohan in songs that he churned Muroo land as the Deys churned the ocean.

When Ubhaye Singh, from fear of the padishah, wrote to Wukhut Singh to put his father to death, the padishah gave him the Eedur pergunnah as a present, and a deed with nine seals. A Brahmin, named Jugoojee, the Pooroheet or family priest of Ubhaye Singh, while on his way from Delhi to Jodhpoor, was seized by the outlaws, and carried to Adowalo. He informed them of the grant of Eedur to Ubhaye Singh and swore to them that if they would permit him to go to Delhi he would bring the grant back with him. They agreed to the Brahmin's proposal and he went to Ubhaye Singh and informed him that his brothers were plundering and distressing Marwar, suggesting that the grant of Eedur should be given to them instead of one of the twenty two pergunnahs of Jodhpoor. Ubhaye Singh gave him the grant and he carried it to Adowalo.

At this time Samwut 1785 (A D 1729)¹ Oodawut Lal

¹ The following is an extract from a report by Major Miles then in political charge of the Myhee Kanta dated 21st September 1821 —

'In Samwut 1785 Anund Singh and Rāee Singh two brothers of the Rajah of Jodhpoor accompanied by a few horse from Vanoo and Pahlunpoor and the kooles of Gudwara took possession of Eedur without much difficulty. They are said to have had an order from Delhi but the truth seems to be that they were invited by the state of the country and most likely assisted by the Marwar princes who at that period held the Soubahdaree of Ahmedabad. Some years after at the instigation of the Desaye above mentioned (who had been placed in charge of Eedur after its capture by Morad Buksh) who appears to have been displaced by the Marwarees an officer in the service of Damajee Guikowar named Buchajee Dewajee was dispatched on the part of the Peabwah to take possession of Eedur which assisted by the Pehwur Rajpoots the servants of the late Row of Eedur he did. Anund Singh was killed in an engagement fought for the recovery of Eedur about Samwut, 1809 (A D 1753) and Buchajee after leaving a detachment there returned to Ahmedabad. Rāee Singh however collected a force and again obtained possession of Eedur. He died in Samwut 1892 (A D 1766). Shiv Singh succeeded his father Anund Singh and is said to have governed about forty years. Shiv Singh had five sons—Bhowanee Singh (or Laljee) who succeeded him Sangram Singh who received the puttah of Ahmednugger, Jalum Singh of Morasa and Indur Singh (no puttah) and Umur

Singh, who served the Nowab of Borsud with three hundred horse, was on his way to Marwar on leave, and, arriving at Cedur, pitched his tents by the Rumulesur tank. It was then that the Desâces came to visit him, and offered to make him master of Cedur. Lâl Singh said that the padishah had granted Cedur to Muhârâjâ Ubhye Singh, and that he could not himself take it, but that he would bring Anund Singh and the other brothers of the Muhârâjâ who were in outlawry. Thus being agreed to by the Desâcea, Lâl Singh went to Adowâlo, and related what had passed. The Râj Koonwurs had, in the meantime, been joined by Jethâwut Uderâmjee and Koompâwut Umur Singh, they now set out at the head of about five thousand horse, and proceeded to the pass of Roherâ, leading from the Seeroheer country into the province of Cedur. The Wâghela Thâkor of Poseenâ, a puttawut of the Row's,¹ however, blocked up the pass, and would not permit the Râj Koonwurs to advance, for the Rowjee had, by no means, abandoned his claim to the possession of Cedur. At length it was arranged that Anund Singh should marry the Thâkor's daughter, and that that chief should have twelve villages in addition to those which he held of the Row of Pol. The villages of the Dhunâl estate were, accordingly, made over to the Thâkor, and his daughter was married to Anund Singh, and the army, thereupon, advanced to Poseenâ. To this place the Râj Koonwurs invited the Desâces, and, on their arrival, an arrangement was concluded, and the force advanced to Cedur, which place they entered on the seventh of the light half of Phâlgoon, Sumwut, 1787 (A D 1731), the same year in which Muhârâjâ Ubhye Singh came to Ahmedabad. Ubhye Singh was afterwards on good terms with the Cedur Muhârâjâs, and not only procured for them the grant from Delhi, but also put them in possession of the pergunnahs

¹ Singh, of Gorewara. Bhowanee Singh governed only one month after the death of his father, and was succeeded by his son, Gumbheer Singh, the present raja, in Sumwut, 1849 (A D 1793). Gumbheer Singh has one son, named Oomed Singh, or Laljee, who is about 'twenty years of age.'

² [This is Bacha Pandit, Rao of Idar, whose life is related in book ii, chapter v, *supra*. The reader should refer back to that chapter to pick up the thread of the narrative.]

of Beejâpûr and Poorântej. As long as Ubhye Singh remained, Ledur had no jumâ (tribute) to pay to Ahmedabad.¹

Two years after Muhârâjâ Anund Singh's arrival at Ledur the Nowaub of Borsud fled to him for shelter, in consequence of a rebellion of his brothers.² The Muhârâjâ, having asked advice of his Sirdârs, sent his two brothers accompanied by

¹ We do not know how this statement is to be reconciled with the following letter, quoted by Colonel Tod (*Rajasthan*, vol. iii, 1828 f) —

'Letter from Raja Jey Sing, of Amber, to Rana Singram Sing, of Mewar, regarding Edur'

'SRI RAMJI

'SRI SEETA RAMJI

'When I was in the presence, at Oodipoor, you commanded that Mewar was my home, and that Edur was the portico of Mewar, and to watch the occasion for obtaining it. From that time I have been on the look out. Your agent, Myaram, has again written regarding it, and Dilput Rao read the letter to me verbatim, on which I talked over the matter with Muharaja Abhe Sing, who, acquiescing in all your views, has made a nuzzur of the pergunnah to you—and his writing to this effect accompanies this letter

'The Muharaja Abhe Sing petitions that you will so manage, that the occupant, Anund Sing, does not escape alive, as, without his death, your possession will be unstable—this is in your hands. It is my wish, also, that you would go in person, or, if you deem this inexpedient, command the Dhabhaee Nuggo, placing a respectable force under his orders, and, having blocked up all the passes, you may then slay him. Above all things let him not escape,—let this be guarded against

Asar budî, 7th S., 1784 (A. D. 1728)

'Envelope

'The Pergunnah of Edur is in Muharaja Abhe Sing's jagheer, who makes a nuzzur of it to the Huzoor, should it be granted to any other, take care the Munsubdar never gains possession. 8th S., 1784

On the margin is written, according to custom, in the raja's own hand—

'Let my respects be known. When, in the Dewan's presence, he ordered that Edur was the portico and Chuppun the vestibule to Mewar, and that it was necessary to obtain it. I have kept this in mind, and, by the Sri Dewanjee's fortune, it is accomplished'

² [The bardic narratives do not mention several important events. In 1734 Idar was attacked by Javân Mard Khân, but Anandsingh beat off the invader with the help of Malhâr Râo Holkar and Rânoji Sindia, who were in Malwâ at the time. In 1741, Raisingh, a year before his death, concluded an alliance with Momin Khân, Viceroy of Gujarât.]

Champawuts Showace Singh, and Partap Singh Jodha Mokun Singh, Jethawut Uderamjee, Champawut Jeewundaa, and Koonwur Jorawur Singh, with a force about two thousand strong against Borsud. There was a great fight there, and cannon were fired from the fort, so that for ten days it could not be taken. At length the Borsud Karbāree came over, and opened the gates of the fort. Koonwur Jorawur Singh received two or three sword wounds during the siege, and fifty of the Marwarrees fell, with about as many on the other side. The Nowat when he was replaced on the royal cushion said to Muhārājā Rāee Singh 'Stay with me until I am firmly settled.' Rāee Singh therefore, remained for eight months.

At this time the Rowjee assembled his Sirdars the Rehwurs the Thakor Udesingh of Runisun the Thakors of Monpoor, Surdohee, Roopal and Ghorewarā and all the Bhoomerees around with the exception of the Waghela of Poseena. The Sirdars said they would go and fight for the Row, and take Eedur if they could. They advanced to Deshotur, where there were five hundred houses of Dabhee Rājpoos and from thence to Eedur. At this time the Mohammedan Kusbatees were very strong in Eedur, they were divided into two branches called Naigs and Bhātees (in all about fifteen hundred houses) and to them the gates and batteries of Eedur were entrusted. The Rowjees puttawuts gained over the Kusbatees and took the town of Eedur. Muhārājā Anund Singh had been left with only two Sirdars Koompawut Umur Singh and Chohan Devce Singh, he retired with these Sirdars and his zenana into the fortress on the hill but being in danger even here he sent out the ladies under the Sirdars' protection by a postern gate and himself left the fort by the main gate which overlooks the town and went on in the hope of joining the zenana. The Muharaja had but few horsemen with him and even these were scattered. At this time he perceived a body of Rehwur horse approaching and immediately gave orders that his royal drum should be sounded to call together his followers. The nobut beater¹ remonstrated

¹ The 'nobut' is the royal drum. [For the Naubat at the court of the Mughal emperors see *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i. 171.]

saying that the Rehurs would come up if the drum were sounded, but that the Muhârajâ's horsemen were too far off. Anund Singh repeated his order, in an angry tone, and the drum was immediately sounded. The Rehur horse galloped up, and overtook his scanty following, and a fight ensued. On the Muhârajâ's side, Chohân Devec Singh first went down; then Koompâwut Umur Singh was wounded. Râmdân, the nobut-beater, was slain. The Muhârajâ's horse was killed under him, and at length he himself was slain. A few only of his followers escaped, and the Rehurs took the fort of Eedur.

Many arrows flew, many swords moved,
Great companies of elephants met each other
When Anund Muhârij, at Eedur guth, wedded the Upsurâ
Of the Bride groom's party, the leader was Devedân Mamo.
The claims of all, he paid with blows redoubled
Indrâ like was Ujmâl, the bridegroom
His best man was the son of Phut Mâl
Instead of a marriage song, they had the roar of battle
Valiantly advancing, they pushed back their enemies,
Like elephants in rut, swaying from side to side,
Did the Kumud and the Muchureek strike down their foes.
The fort lords, Mâmo and Bhancej, passed to Paradise,
For them had ceased the toil of being born in the womb
Him who, in front advancing, fell, I praise—the Chohân !¹

The Sonuggeree and the Wâghelee, Rânces of Muhârajâ Anund Singh, retired to the Seerohee village of Roherâ, and there became sutees. A slave-girl also burned herself with them. Their chutrees may still be seen at Roherâ.

When the matter was made known to Muhârajâ Râce Singh, at Borsud, he prepared to advance upon Eedur. He took up his ground first at Mooneyoo, where he remained four months plundering the Eedur country, without finding any opportunity of attacking Eedur-guth. At length he sent Keshree Singh, of Beejâpoor, and Unop Singh, of Dâwad, two Bhârots, and planned with them to seduce the Sâbher Kântâ chiefs who were on the Row's side. The Bhârots, accordingly, made

¹ [Mâmo and Bhancej mean mother's brother and sister's son. Ujmâl is Anund Singh. The son of Phut Mâl is Devec Singh Kumdhuy, or Kumud, is a title of the Râthor clan, as is Muchureek of the Chohân Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed 1920, ii. 930, 1001.]

an arrangement with these chiefs that when the fight began they should fire in the air. Râce Singh now advanced from Mooneyoo to Bârolce, where he found himself at the head of ten thousand men. The Naiq and Bhatec Kushâtees were also seduced by promises of puttis and jigheers, to desert the Row, though they still protested to him that they would defend the town. Râce Singh now advanced against Ledur, and surrounded the town with his troops. He himself, with Mân Sing Chohan, Koonwur Jorawur Singh, Jodhâ Mokum Singh, and the Châmpawuts Pertâp Singh, Showace Singh, Mân Singh, and Jeewundis, ascended the hill called 'Mudâr Shâ's toonk,' which overlooks Ledur, and from thence descended into the town, which the Kushâtees rendered without resistance. The Sirdârs asked the Muhârajj what was to be done next; he said, 'Ask Mâmâ Mân Singh who is the leader of 'the army.' Mân Singh advised that they should kill the Kushâtees, and enjoy a thornless rîj. The Marwarrees, therefore, attacked them, and killed about a thousand; they next attacked the fort, which they took, killing some of the Rehwurs. The Rowjee now escaped to Pôl, and the Rehwurs went home to their own estates, having held possession of Ledur for about eight months in all.

Anund Singh Muhârajj had left a son, Shav Singh, who was

five years, and then, in consequence of the continual incursions of the Rehwhurs, it was given back to them, twelve villages, of which Deshotur was the principal, being, however, retained as khâlsâ lands

The following song relates to the contest which took place at this time between the Rehwhurs and Rathors —

Night or day, the sound of the war drum ceases not,
But the Jodhas are not lessened in number,
Duly, with its elephants an army advances,
The feud with the Marwarees has no termination
All day long they seek the field,
They fight, they charge, they mount, they fall,
Without a warrior's death no evening comes,
When many fall then fall the shades of evening
On both sides, like roaring floods, rush on the armies
Great is the noise of broken trees of armor broken
Ah! when will halo¹ cause this calamity to cease
This dust-storm in the land of Eedur?
Shall I praise the arms or praise the weavers?
Shall I praise the Sirdars or praise the followers?
Is Rehwhur good or is Rathor good?
Awo strikes the beholder as each chief charges on
And though the Sirdar fall the followers continue the battle
Yet falls not Eedur land into the power of either

Râce Singh now placed Shiv Singh at Eedur and took up his own residence at Morâs, where he built a mansion and accommodation for his zenana. Five years afterwards a Mahratta army, led by the wife of Jankojee came from Poonah to Morâs, and demanded tribute. The Mahrattas were about fifteen thousand in number, yet tribute was refused by Râce Singh. The lady who led the army sent it is said, to Muli¹ raji Râce Singh and requested that he would visit her, as she had heard that he was very handsome and was disposed to remit the tribute. Râce Singh said that if he was not handsome, he was a good archer, and asked the messenger in sport, whether he thought an arrow would go through the buffalo and water bags of a Mahratta water carrier who was passing at the time under the walls of the fort. He drew his bow, and the arrow passed through both the animal and the bags. The water carrier went off immediately to his friends, and con-

¹ Krishna

plained bitterly, and the Mahrattas immediately attacked with their whole force. The garrison, which consisted of only one hundred and fifty Marwarees, fought till they were all slain, but Rāee Singh, placing his wife on his horse behind him, and winding a scarf round her so as to fasten her to himself, galloped off to Rātegurh, a fort which he had constructed upon a hill near the khālsā village of Unghār, and which contained a garrison of two hundred horse and foot. He remained there two or three days, and then went on to Cedur.

When the Mahrattas took Morāsā, the Champāwut Jeevundas fell, and his brother, Pertāp Singh, was left on the field wounded. The Mahrattas, supposing that the latter was the Muhārāja Rāee Singh himself, put him into a litter, and carried him off to Ahmedabad, where they placed him in confinement. Shortly afterwards, they proposed to ransom him for eighty thousand rupees, and this sum was taken out of the Cedur treasury, and dispatched upon camels towards Ahmedabad, but, when the escort reached Pethāpoor on its way, the Thākōr himself, who had managed to effect his escape, met them, and the money was brought back to Cedur. Rāee Singh then said that the treasure had been taken out for the use of Pertāp Singh, and that the Thākōr should keep it. Pertāp Singh declined, urging that he had no need of money, when the Muhārāja provided so well for him. The Sirdārs, at length, arranged that half that sum should be given to Pertāp Singh, and half replaced in the treasury.

In the year 1797 (A D 1741), says the bard, the Muhārāja granted 'puttās'¹ to his followers. Mondeytee was given to Man Singh Chohan, Chāndunee to Champāwut Showacc Singh, Mhow to Champāwut Pertāp Singh, Gānthecol to Jethāwut Uderāmjee, Teentoe to Koompawut Umur Singh, Wudecavee to Koompāwut Bādur Singh, Merāsun to Jodhā Indra Singh, and Bhānpoor to Oodāwut Lal Singh. At this time Rāee Singh and Shiv Singh were seated together upon the cushion of Cedur. The Sirdārs, however, considered that two swords could not be contained in one scabbard, and that some day treachery would be perpetrated. They assembled at the

¹ [Patta, a 'patent, grant' (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed 1920, I, 190)]

Chohan's mansion to deliberate as to how the Muharajas could be separated, Shiv Singh having now attained the age of about eleven years. Koompawut Umur Singh was at length deputed by them to Muharaja Race Singh. He said, 'Muharaj! if you will pardon me, I will speak.' Race Singh replied, 'Say on.' 'All say,' continued the Thakor, 'that one scabbard cannot contain two swords, nor one throne afford room for two rajas.' Your highness should therefore 'proceed to some other place.' Race Singh said, 'No one but yourself has mentioned anything of this kind to me, therefore both of us must leave the Ledur territory.' Race Singh accordingly retired to Rice-gurh, and Umur Singh went off to Marwar, his putta of Teentoe being assigned to Champawut Man Singh.

Race Singh Muharaja left no son, but he had a daughter Bacc Eejun Koonwuree who was married to Madhux Singh, Raja of Jeipoor.

Umur Singh was not successful in his attempt at obtaining a putta in Marwar, and he therefore returned six years afterwards, to Ledur, and was presented with the estate of Munceol. He had two sons Sher Singh and Dheerut Singh, who served the Muharaja Shiv Singh so well that he assigned to them the puttass of Kookrecoo and Oondunee. Muharaja Shiv Singh made also other grants. To Futtch Singh and Khoman

'You must not say the Dutch 'have two mainmasts in one vessel' — Une nation se peint dans son langage, principalement dans ses expressions proverbiales. celles de la langue française, en partie prises de la chevalerie indiquent l'époque qui contribua en France à former cette politesse exquise cette urbanité délicate cette émulation de grandeur et de générosité dont il est resté quelque chose dans nos romans. celles de la langue hollandaise montrent visiblement que le commerce et la navigation ont toujours été les occupations principales des Bataves et que l'économie, chez ce peuple industrieux a été de tout temps la première des vertus.

Le Hollandais veut il faire entendre qu'il ne faut qu'un seul maître dans une maison il a recours à cette figure. Il ne faut pas qu'il y ait deux grands mats dans un vaisseau.

Si l'on veut faire connaître que ceux qui n'ont pas la charge ou la conduite de quelque affaire prétendent souvent en raisonner mieux que les personnes à qui on l'a confiée, il fait encore usage d'une figure prise dans ses habitudes en disant 'Les meilleurs pilotes sont ordinairement terre. — *Deer pi on of it* • *United States of the Netherlands*

Singh the grandsons of Champawut Pertap Singh he gave the estates of Mhow and Wankaner, and he gave land to several other Rajpoots who became zillayuts of one or other of the Sirdars

When the Guikowar army, under Āppa Sāhib with the Rowjee the Rehwurs and others in St 1844-5 (A D 1788 9) or thereabouts came into the Ledur country and began to kill and plunder the Sirdars retreated with their families to the hills. They all assembled at length at the 'Ghoonwā' hill which lies between Danta and Poseenā and is accessible only by a narrow pass from whence they made night attacks upon the Guikowar army slaying and plundering. The army then came against the 'Ghoonwā' upon which the Sirdars fled to Panowra in Mewar to the north of Eedur. The Mahrattas advanced upon Mondeytee and plundered and burnt all the villages of that district as well as many villages of Poseenā, Mhow, Chandunee and other districts. At length they advanced upon Ledur against Muharaja Shiv Singh and encamped at the Rumulesur tank. They sent to the Muharaja to say that if he did not come in to a conference without loss of time they would destroy Ledur. Upon this Shiv Singh with his five Koonwurs went into their camp. The commander of the Mahrattas now demanded that the Mulraj should sign a deed passing half his country to them on pain of the territory being laid waste. The pretence which they made for this claim was that Shiv Singh represented Anund Singh Mulrajā only and that the share of Mulrajā Race Singh who had died without offspring was theirs; the territory of Ledur having been taken possession of by these two princes jointly. The Muharaja when he heard these demands made humble submission but without effect. The Mulratta leader threatened to seize him and place a garrison of his own in Ledur. Then the Muharaja in his trepidation said 'To pass a deed for the territory is not in my hands it is in the hands of the Sirdars. It is a kingdom acquired by their means that I rule over.' The Pandit demanded that the Muharaja should summon his Sirdars. Shiv Singh answered 'They will not come at my summons besides you have laid waste their villages and they too have done some harm

'to you—how, then, can they come in?' The Mahratta officer then gave security, and the Maharaja also wrote private letters to the Sirdars, saying 'If you do not come in I shall be made prisoner' Upon this all the Sirdars came in, with the exception of Soorajmul, the Thakor of Chandunee, who went off to his own village with his followers, numbering a hundred horse and two hundred foot. When they arrived the Pundit threatened them very much, and compelled them to pass a deed for Râee Singh's share. The Maharaja signed first, and then seven Sirdars subscribed the deed.

This affair completed, the seven Sirdars said, 'When Soorajmul signs then our signatures are to hold good, but not till then.' The Pundit said, 'Send for him.' A horseman of the Maharaja's and one of the Mahratta leaders were then sent to offer the security of Jan Mohummed, an Arab Jemadar, and Soorajmul soon after came in with a hundred and twenty horse. The Pundit received him courteously in his own tent, seated him beside himself, and then gave him the document that he might affix his signature, as the other Sirdars had done. Soorajmul had no sooner read it, however than he tore it up, saying 'The Muhâraja is lord of the pat (throne) but I am lord of the thath' (district, lit. building). He said to the Jemadar 'You must conduct me back to Chandunee,' and immediately rising went off home. The Mahratta leader was very much enraged and threatened the Maharaja and the Sirdars but they protested that there was no fault of theirs, they had signed the deed. The Pundit then demanded that they should accompany him to attack Chandunee, to which all assented. Batteries were thrown up before Chandunee, and the attack was continued for the whole of one day, the Muhâraja and Sirdars apparently taking part with the Mahrattas though in heart they were with Soorajmul. In the night Soorajmul fled to the hills and the Mahrattas plundered and burnt the town. They remained in that place for four days during which time Soorajmul fell upon them when occasion offered slew ten or twelve men and carried off fourteen horses. The army struck its camp before Chandunee, and moved to Sambulee. There too Soorajmul fell upon them in the night time, and slew, among others, the Arab

officer who commanded the artillery while he was making his bread and singing 'tan a, tan a, tan a' The Muharaja then said to the leader of the Mahrattas that this Rajpoot was a dangerous fellow, and there was no saying whom he might slay, and that if the army retired he would send the sum of money which had been agreed upon. A bond for twenty thousand rupees was then drawn up and signed, the Mahrattas retired and the Muharajî returned to Eedur. He sent immediately for Soorujmul and begged him to restore his village, and presented him with four thousand rupees to rebuild his mansion. Soorujmul did so, but after this he became full of pride on account of his valor, and used to say, 'There is no strength in either Muharaja or Sirdars. It was I alone that preserved the throne of Eedur.'

When the Mahrattas retired they left garrisons at Ahmednugger, Moras, and other places. The Sirdars drove out most of these posts but in some places they held their ground, and in these the Peshwah acquired a half share.

Now when Champawut Soorujmul came to Eedur, the people had to make the roads clear for him, otherwise he threatened them. A nobut beater of the durbars on one of these occasions having offended him by committing a nuisance on the public road Soorujmul seized him and, tying a rope round his ankle, ducked him in a pond, lowering him and pulling him out until he died. At this time Muharaja Shiv Singh was old and infirm and a great friendship existed between the prince Bhuvanee Singh and Soorujmul. On one occasion Soorujmul made a feast at Chandunee, and invited the prince, they were seated together in the durbar when one of the prince's attendants a Bhojuk Brahmin happened to spit on the floor. Soorujmul was in a fury and ordered the Bhojuk to lick up the spittle with his tongue. The Bhojuk said 'I have done wrong but now I will wipe it up with my clothes.' Soorujmul notwithstanding insisted upon being obeyed. Then the Muharajî Koomar said, 'He has done wrong therefore, if you please, I will wipe it up with my own shawl.' Still Soorujmul insisted 'He shall lick it up with that very tongue.' Then the prince was angry, and getting up he went away. Returning to Eedur, he related

the whole story to the Muhârajâ, and said, 'There is such 'pride in this Sirdâr that he defies all authority.' The Muhârajâ heard, but made no answer. The prince, however, kept his anger in his heart.

The affair appeared to have been forgotten, and the Muhârajâ-Koomâr sent to invite Soorujmul to a feast. He took him up to Eedur-gurh to inspect the fort, and brought him at length to the 'palace of the mourning queen,'¹ where he slew him with the sword. The Thâkor, however, was a great loss to the Eedur state, as the verse says :—

The Champâwut, with treachery,
Had not the Nurend slain,
Goojur land, his property
Soojo kumdhuj had made

After his death, Soorujmul became a Bhoot, and occasioned great trouble for a long time

Soorujmul's Koonwur, Subul Singh, hearing the news, fled away in alarm, and 'went out.' However, he was brought round, and induced to return, but the twelve villages of Hursol were taken from him. Mân Singh, of Mondeytee, was succeeded by his son, Koonwur Jorawur Singh. He left also a younger son, Rughoonâth, to whom was given the estate of Gota, which he left to his son, Soorut Singh.

The Muhârajâ Koomâr, Bhuwane Singh, made an attempt to take the Gotâ estate from Soorut Singh, because, as he declared, too many villages had been given to puttawuts, and few remained khâlsâ. He sent to Soorut Singh, demanding that he should give up one or two of his villages. This demand, however, did not please Muhârajâ Shuv Singh, but he was afraid of the prince, and did not say much to him. Soorut Singh replied to the demand by 'going out.' He carried his family to Jowâs and Puhâdun, villages of Newar to the north-east of Pâl, and made incursions upon the Eedur country, seizing cultivators and village traders, from whom he exacted ransom, and carrying off cattle. On one occasion he attacked

¹ [See vol. i, p. 231, *supra*. *Ruthi Ranino Mahall* means the Palace of the Angry Queen. The allusion is to the Râni of Râo Narayanji, who was driven from Idar by Akbar in 1576. She lived here apart from her husband, who had insulted her.]

Brāmī Khēir, which contained a garrison of Ledor troops, one hundred in number, horse and foot. There was a great fight there. Afterwards a body of the merchants of Ledor, proceeding on pilgrimage to the temple of Rishub Dev, in the Sadree Pass with an escort of twenty five Koolēes halted at the village of Thānī. Soorut Singh visited them, and asked what need they had of so large an escort. They answered that his being 'out' was the reason. Soorut Singh said they need not be apprehensive of him, for Ledor was his mother, and he would not snatch at her scarf. He then accompanied them to the place of pilgrimage, and guarded them on the way home again. The merchants, when they reached Ledor, told the Muharājā and the prince that Soorut Singh protected the people of the town of Ledor, and should, therefore, be called in. However, the prince did not receive this advice. The Muharājā then, without the prince's knowledge, wrote to Soorut Singh, and said that Chooreewar was his cook room village, and that if the Thākōr struck it he would fast, and thus compel the prince to call Soorut Singh in. The Thākōr upon this assembled his men and plundered Chooreewar, which he burned carrying off both prisoners and cattle. When the report of this event reached Ledor, the Muharājā began to abstain from food. The prince immediately called in Soorut Singh giving him an Uteet of Ledor for his security. When the Thākōr arrived the prince was very much enraged with him and demanded his reason for doing so much mischief. Soorut Singh showed him the Muharājā's letter. When the prince spoke to the Muharājā about the matter, Shiv Singh was ashamed, and the enmity which already existed between father and son was augmented. The durbar said to Soorut Singh 'Why should you have exhibited a letter that I wrote to you for your own good? I think your death must be near' at hand as your intellect is thus turned. Soorut Singh now got back his estate, but he died six months afterwards in 1841 (A D 1785). He was succeeded by his son Ude Singh.

On the death of Dolut Singh, the grandson of Jorawur Singh of Mondeytee, without offspring Ude Singh succeeded also to the larger puttā of Mondeytee.

In the year 1848 (A D 1792) Muharājā Shiv Singh became

a Dev.¹ Twelve days afterwards his son, Bhuwānee Singh, also died, in the thirty sixth year of his age. Bhuwānee Singh Maharaja, was succeeded by his son, Gumbheer Singh, who was born in 1835 (A D 1770) The younger brothers of Bhuwānee Singh, were Jhalum Singh, Sugrām Singh, Umur Singh, and Indra Singh. Jhalum Singh had the management of affairs during the minority of Gumbheer Singh. After a time, however, the Sirdārs assembled at the mansion of the Chāmpawuts, with Bhārot Mobobut, of Vecjipoor, who was then the Deewan, and came to the resolution that, as two swords could not be contained in one scabbard, it was right that Jhalum Singh should not sit upon the cushion, but beside it. Jhalum Singh asked what course was left open for him to take. The Sirdārs said that he was a prince, and knew the customs. Upon this, Jhalum Singh and his brothers, Sugrām Singh and Umur Singh, retired with their followers, and took possession of Morāsa, Ahmednugger, and Bayur, without receiving any grants from the Maharaja. Indra Singh, who was blind, remained at home, and to him was assigned the estate of Soor.

Sugrām Singh was succeeded by Kurun Singh, and he by Tukhut Singh, the present Maharaja of Jodhpoor.

Indra Singh left four sons who are still living. Jhalum Singh and Umur Singh died without offspring.

When Gumbheer Singh Maharaja was eighteen years old, he said that the three brothers should take two pergunnalis between them, and to enforce this determination he prepared an army, and advanced to Hinglaz, on the road to Ahmednugger. Jhalum Singh and Sugrām Singh joined in opposing

¹ The following inscriptions supply authentic dates of the Maharajas of Ledur —

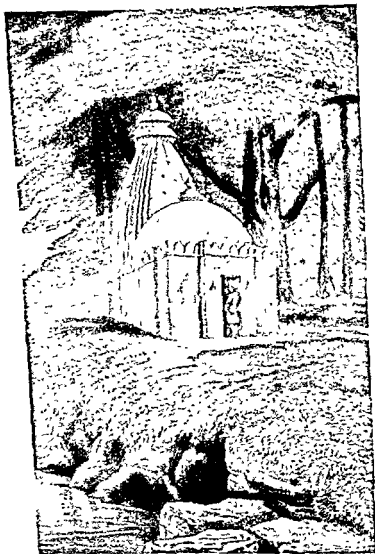
1 On a Jain funeral monument near Ledur 'Samwut, 1840 (A D 1784), 'Shree Maharaj Adheeraj Maharaj Shree Shiv Singhjee, &c

2 On the well of Wujur Mata in Eedur gurb, 'Praise to Shree Gunes! Shree Ramjee! In Samwut, 1847 (A D 1791), Phalgun 'shood 5 Wednesday, Shree Shree Shree 108 Shree Maharaj Adheeraj 'Shree Shree Shree Shiv Singhjee, Shree Maharaj Koonwur, Shree Bhu 'wānee Singhjee caused this well to be constructed, &c'

3 On another Jain monument near Eedur, 'Samwut 1859 (A D 1803), 'Shree Maharaj Adheeraj, Maharaj Shree Gumbheer Singhjee, &c'

the Muharaja, and a battle was fought, in which, as both sides were provided with cannon, many fell on either part. They were separated by the evening. The next day, the Châmpawut, Jodhi, and Chohan Sirdârs came up and joined the Muharaja, and a demand was sent to the enemy for the surrender of Ahmednugger. At this time, Bhowan Singh, of Teentoe, in discharging a pistol which had been kept loaded for a long time, and would not go off without more powder, blew off his hand. The Muharaja received this as a bad omen, and, giving up his expedition, returned to Ladur. Bhowan Singh was carried away in the direction of Teentoe, but died on the road, at Bhuvnath Muhâ Dev, near Mhow.

After this Jhalum Singh, of Morasa, began to encroach upon the villages around him belonging to the Thakor of Umleeari, the Rathor of Malpoor, and the Rehwars of Monpoor and Surdohee. His army consisted of Marwarees and others. In an attack upon Malpoor, about A.D. 1799, Jhalum Singh Muharaja had five thousand men to oppose to eight hundred of the Rathors. The struggle continued for three days and, at last, Malpoor was taken, and the Râwul slain. The Muharaja garrisoned Malpoor, but the young Râwul Tukhut Singh, having gone out, and created much distress by burning the villages of the Morasa estate, it was at length agreed that Malpoor should pay the Muharaja a subsidy of six hundred rupees yearly, and Magoree one of five hundred rupees, and the Râwul Tukhut Singh recovered his villages.



TEMPLE OF MUHIĀ DEV IN THE MYHEE KANTA

'be your intention to fight, I will wait here for you.' As Peer Khânjee showed no signs of advancing, the Muhârâjâ began to talk about striking one or two of the Pâhlunpoor villages, in return for the occupation of Gudwârâ, but Koompâwut Nâr Singh, who was the Prudhân at that time, said, 'Muhârâjâ ! we have come beyond the frontier of Pâhlunpoor, and the victory, therefore, is ours. Striking these villages, as you propose, would only extend the feud.' The Muhârâjâ assented to this advice, and turning back, advanced upon Dântâ, from which Rânâ Jugut Singh fled to the hills. The Eedur force plundered the villages of Nowâ Wâs and Bhernâl (from which the inhabitants fled), and, finding crops of sugar-cane on the ground, they cut the cane, and made huts for themselves of it, and remained there a month, living upon the neighbouring villages. At length it was agreed that the Rânâ of Dântâ should pay to the Muhârâjâ a tribute of five hundred rupees a-year, and the latter returned to Eedur.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER X

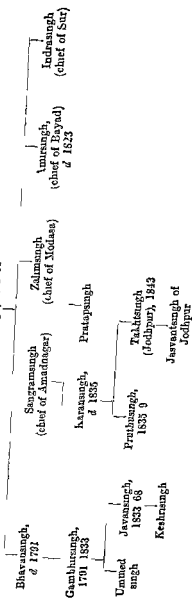
I. IDAR

[From 800-970 Idar was under Gahlot rule, then, after a short period of Bhîl independence, it passed to the Parmâra Râjputs (1000-1200). The last Parmâra, Amar Singh, left it to his servant Hathi Sord, a Koh. His son, Samaho Sood, was deposed by Râo Sonang of Samehâ, the ancestor of the Râos of Pol. These Râos reigned for twelve generations until expelled in 1656 by Murâd Baksh. In 1728 the Mohammedans were expelled by Anand Singh and Râi Singh, brothers of the Râja of Jodhpur. The state now consisted of Idar, Ahmadnagar, Modâsa, Bâyard, Harsol, Prântej, and Vijâpur. Anand Singh was in his turn expelled by Bachâjî, an officer of Dâmâjî Gaikwâr, on behalf of the Peshwa, and killed in 1753 : but Râi Singh defeated the Marâthas, and replaced Shiv Singh, son of Anand Singh, on the throne. Most of the territory, however, passed to the Peshwa and the Gaikwâr. Family dissensions broke out on the death of Shiv Singh in 1701, and resulted in the dismemberment of the state. (*I.G.* xiii, 325, and vol. i, 290 *note*.) The story is completed in the note at the end of chapter xiv.]

II GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE FAMILY OF ANANDSINGH OF IDAR

Anandsingh, c 1728-c 1753

Shivsingh, 1742-91



CHAPTER XI

DĀNTĀ

RĀNĀ JETMĀL,¹ of Dintā, left two sons. The elder was Jesingh, the younger, Poonjā, whose mother was the daughter of the Waghela of Dhunalec, one of the Sirdars of Dantā. Poonjā lived for a time with his mother's family, because the brothers did not agree. But when his father died, this being no longer a secure refuge, he was conveyed by his mother's brother to Chitrasunee, in the lands of Seerohee. After Jetmāl's death, all the Sirdars and relations slept in the durbār for the twelve nights of the mourning, on coverlets laid on the ground, and Koonwur Jesingh Dev himself slept in a cot. When the servant came to prepare the cot for him, he threw out of its place the coverlet of Sudhoojee Bādoowā's son Umurajee, and began to make ready the cot there. Then all asked, 'Whose cot are you making ready here?' The servant said it was the durbār's. The Sirdars said, 'Why, the durbār died two days ago, and how is it that there is another in so short a time?' The servant said 'The Supreme Being has so arranged it, and it is not now to be set aside by you.' When the Sirdars heard this, it seemed very ill to them, and they considered that 'he will not suit our purpose.' Afterwards all the Sirdars assembled, and, holding a consultation, said to Bādoowā Umurajee 'Employ some means that appear to you good.' He said, 'I will go and take the weight of another master,—but you must all of you stand to my aid courageously.' Then Umurajee took two horsemen with him, and set off. When the three were setting out, Koonwur Jesingh Dev said 'Whither are you going?' They said 'We are upon the durbār's business.' Then he thought, 'It may be so, the Karbharee may have sent them on some business.' The three went to Dhunalec, and asked the Thakor, Waghela Mokum Singh, where Poonjā was. He said he was at Chitra-

¹ Vide vol. i, p. 419

sunee They went thither, and stayed the night. The next morning they called the Sindhee, to whom the village belonged and said to him, ' Poonjâ has been living with you, will you, therefore, do him service ? ' He said, ' I have three hundred or four hundred men, whatever service you may point out I am ready for ' He then got his men ready Guduwee Umurajee now said to Poonjâ ' Be pleased to accompany us to Danta ' He said ' I will not come because he will put me to death ' The Guduwee said ' I am security that no one shall put you to death ' They turned back, therefore taking Poonja with them and came to Surra The next day was the auspicious day for Jesingh Dev's taking possession of the cushion and much splendid preparation was made Jesingh Dev was putting on his clothes in the durbar Meanwhile Poonja made his appearance and the Karbharee and Sirdars placed him on the cushion All said to the chief of the merchants of Danta named Nanâbhâee, ' Do you make the teeluk, ' ¹ upon which the merchant made the teeluk and presented fifty five rupees as an offering, after which all the others presented suitable offerings At this time the soldiers from Chitrasunee came, and said ' What service have you for us to perform ? They told them to put sentries on all four sides of the durbar that no one might come or go This was effected in a perfect manner Afterwards the royal drum was sounded and cannon fired Jesingh hearing this said ' Who caused that drum to sound ? ' Some one told him ' Poonjâ has assumed the cushion ' Meanwhile the order arrived ' Whatever jewels belonging to the durbar you may have in your possession must be sent and you must leave the place ' Jesingh Dev asked ' Where am I to go to ? ' The answer was ' You should go to the village of Gungwa, which was assigned to your mother for a subsistence ' Jesingh Dev said, ' Gungwa is a single village, that will not supply my necessities ' The village of Man-kuree was then assigned to him in addition He took his family with him, and retired to Gungwâ

The same day that Poonjâ assumed the cushion he was

¹ [The Tilak or Tika is the auspicious mark made on the forehead of the new Raja (see Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan* ed 1900 : 276)

attacked with vomiting. The Sardars considered what this omen might mean. Some omen reader suggested, 'The Raja suffers from repletion—the meaning is that he will make many districts his own'. Afterwards, when he reached mature age, he won back several rights of 'wol,'¹ in Dhāndhar, which had been encroached upon. He won back also his wānta² lands in the Kheraloo puttā, which had been seized. He also revolved in his mind the restoration of Tursunghmo, but found no leisure to restore it. At this time he gave the village of Rora which has since become desolate, to Umurjee Badoowā, he gave him also the 'Kereco wanta,' in the village of Koondul with five and twenty mango trees. At an after time the Rana gave also certain fields in the village of Thana, which the Guduwee resigned to his half brothers, Simojee and Sukhojee. Rana Poonja afterwards married at the house of the chief of Lembuj a brother of Seerohee. This Lembuj chief whose name was Chandojee was 'out' against Ukheraj the lord of Seerohee on which account he came to Dānta and received from Poonjā Rana the village of Wusace to reside in which is on the road to Umbajee. Chandojee lived there and prosecuted his feud with Seerohee, which was not arranged until after a five years struggle. Chandojee then gave his sister in marriage to Rana Poonja and assigned the lands in the village of Wusace which had been reclaimed by him as her dower. Thus did Poonja reign in a good manner. He left three sons—Man Singh, Umur Singh and Dhengojee which last got the village of Guncheroo.

Man Singh succeeded on the death of Rana Poonja. Umur Singh obtained the village of Soodasuni but it happened that he once on a time went to pay a friendly visit to the Thākōr of Chitrasunee and was on his return thence, when the army of the Babee of Rihadunpoor which was on an expedition made its appearance. Umur Singh was slain by them at the forest near the village of Pulkhuree in Dhāndhar. He left two sons Hutherojee and Jugtojee, who were slain

¹ (wol, forced contributions levied by powerful landowners in Gujarat (*Bombay Gazetteer*, i part i pp 216, 297)]

² [wānta private lands of chiefs in Gujarat (*Ibid*, vii 340, 344, 346 i part i 15)]

by Mān Singh's Koonwur, Guj Singh, after he assumed the cushion. The story is as follows —

Once on a time Guj Singh was seated in the palace at Dantā, and said to those around him, 'Is there any one who would leap down from that limb¹ tree into the court?' Huthoojee climbed the tree immediately and jumped down. Rānā Guj Singh thought within himself, 'This man will some day play me false.' Some time afterwards he said to a Chowra Rajpoot, who was in his service, 'If you will kill these two brothers I will give you a field in free grant.' Then that Rajpoot killed the elder brother with a blow of a sword in the very hall of Dantā and the other he slew on the hill opposite the window of the durbar. There is a shrine of this younger brother, Jugtojee, at the same place, where prayers are made to him. He sometimes appears to people, and sometimes possesses them, in which case offerings must be placed there for him. Huthoojee left a son Khomān Singh who received the village of Udeyrūn in place of Soodasuna which was taken from him, for his mother, after her husband's murder brought Khomān Singh, then a child to Rānā Guj Singh and placed him in his lap saying 'Do to this boy also as it may please you.' The Rānā said to himself 'I have killed his father but if I give him something I shall be freed from the sin of murdering a relation, so he gave him Udeyrūn.' Jugtojee left no son.

To return, however to Mān Singh he reigned four or five years and died leaving two Koonwurs Guj Singh and Juswojee. The village of Ranpoor was first assigned to Juswojee but after the death of Huthoojee and Jugtojee he received also the estate of Soodasuna retaining Rānpoor as well. Juswojee afterwards obtained Wusace in the Dantā putta and Juspur Chelanoo.²

Guj Singh ruled in a good manner and left two sons.³

¹ [The Nim tree *Mel a arad rachta* cf. vol. i p. 300 note.]

² For Juswojee's descendants see note on Soodasuna at the end of this chapter.

³ The following is the inscription on the monument of Rānā C. J. Singh at Dantā —

In the year 1743 (A. D. 1087) on Māgsheer shood 7 Sunday when Rānā Shree Gujsungljee went to Vyekoonth three autecs burned

Pruthee Singh and Veerum Dev, who obtained the village of Nagel. In Pruthee Singh's time, the army of Dāmājēe (Gul-kowar) came to Dantā. Pruthee Singh opposed him in arms for some time, and at last took to the hills. Afterwards he repaired to the Mahratta camp on receiving safe conduct, and agreed to pay something in the way of tribute, which, when the Mahrattas had received, they withdrew. Afterwards Hyder Koolēe, the Nowrūb, on the part of Delhi, came with an army. The Rānā fought with him, too, and slew thirty of his followers. In the end, the army retreated, and victory remained with the Rānā. After this the Pāhlunpoor chief ceased to pay a claim, which the Rānā held upon the Pāhlunpoor village of Ghoree dya. The Rānājēe now considered how to strike the village. When the Pāhlunpoor chief knew of this, he sent for the Bhats of Mehmudpoor (one of his villages) and said, 'Do you keep guard in the village of Ghoree dya.' They did so, and the news was carried to Dantā. At this time, a Wāneē, named Ruheco, was the minister of Dāntā. This Ruheco sent for the Bhats to Dantā and asked them to take charge of the villages of Dhundee and Sheeshranoo, on which the Pāhlunpoor chief asserted a claim, saying 'You are guarding one of the Pāhlunpoor villages, so guard one of ours too, and we will give you as much as they give.' The Bhats answered 'We cannot ride upon two horses.' Ruheco said, 'Well then, go and keep the best watch you may, we will mount and come.' The Bhat thought he would go to Mehmudpoor for his own men, and then to Pāhlunpoor for men from thence, and thus garrison Ghoree dya. Meanwhile, the Rānājēe mounted at once, and struck Ghoree dya, which he plundered, carrying off hostages and cattle, with which he returned to Dantā. When the Pāhlunpoor chief heard the news he sent for the Bhats, and reprimanded them, and said 'Now do whatever remains in your power, and bring back my hostages which the Rānājēe took from me—their names—Vowjee Shree * * Unund Koonwur, Vowjee Shree Waghelee Roopālee, Unund Koonwur, Vowjee Shree Bhuteecanto, Jesumaree, Unop Koonwur—these three became suttees. In commemoration of them this chutree of Pānā Shree Gajsunghjee was caused to be made. In the year 1748 (A. D. 1809) on Mūl & wūd, on Pūnē, the chutree was caused to be made.'

'has seized.' Then the Bhâts collected to the number of a hundred, and began to perform 'dharna.'¹ They set out from their own village, and, at every kos as they advanced, they burned a man, so that, by the time they had arrived at Poonjpoor, seven or eight men had perished. Then the Dîntâ men, going out of Poonjpoor to meet them, brought the Bhâts round, and prevailed on them to turn back. But when the Rânâjee sent to offer gifts to the Bhâts, they said, 'If we receive anything, the Rânâjee will be washed from 'this sin', therefore we will receive nothing,' so saying, they went home. On account of this sin, though Pruthee Singh Rânâ had seven sons born to him, he died childless. At his death three of his wives became sutées, of whom one was the daughter of Sukhut Singh, the Deora of Lembuj; another was the daughter of the Wâghela of Pethâpoor.²

Pruthee Singh's line having failed the minister and Sirdars united to place upon the cushion, *Kurunjee, the son of Veerum Dev*. This *Kurunjee* quarrelled with his own Sirdâr, *Meghrâj*, who held a puttâ including the villages of Deewuree, and Bhudder-mâlî. At this time there was at Dîntâ a Rajpoot, named *Kotheco Wukto*, who every day at opium time, used to be the butt of the Rana's abuse. One day this Rajpoot, becoming enraged, wounded the Rânâ with his sword, and escaping took shelter with *Megh Râj*. Then the Rânâ sent to *Megh Râj* to say, 'Give up this offender to me.' *Megh Râj*

¹ [To 'sit dharna' is a term applied to a form of coercion, the person threatening to starve himself to death or until his demands are granted. *Lyle, Hobson Jobson*, 2nd ed. 315 ff., and cf. vol. 1, p. 302.]

² There is an open funeral pavilion at Danta, which contains three *paleeyos*. The centre one bears the figure of a horseman beneath the usual sun and moon, the two side stones have figures of sutées sculptured upon them. 'Rana Shree Kurunjee, as an inscription records, caused 'to be made the chutree of Rânâ Shree Prutheesunghjee.' Another inscription runs as follows — 'Praise to Shree Gunesh.' When Rana 'Shree Prutheesunghjee departed to Shree Vyekoonth, two sutées 'burned, their names—Vowjee Shree Deoree, Phool Koonwur, and 'Vowjee Shree Waghelee Pethâpooree, Sirdar Koonwur, in Sumrut, '1799 (A. D. 1743), on Shrawun, Shood 2, on Wednesday. [Pahya is a memorial stone erected to record the death of a hero whose spirit becomes guardian of the village (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, iii, 1700).]

answered, 'When one has taken shelter, it is not the Rajpoot's practice to give him up, therefore I keep him with my head.' Afterwards when the Rana importuned him very much, Megh Raj sent the Rajpoot away into the hills and himself going out in anger, went to Gunchetoo, where he remained six months. However, the Rana took no steps to content him and bring him in. Megh Raj then thought with himself,—'What shall I do remaining here?' so he went to Soodumna. The Thakor of that place, whose name was Umur Singh, received him and he stayed there a year but the Rana still gave him no satisfaction. At length Megh Raj said to Umur Singh 'Come! I will cause the cushion of Danta to be given to you.' They collected a force of one thousand men and munitions of war, and advanced upon Danta, which they entered and drove out Kurunjee who mounting his horse fled and went to Pimpulodara, five kos from Danta the village which is usually assigned to the heir apparent for his subsistence. Umur Singh now assumed the cushion at Danta and brought the whole country into subjection to himself. Things remained in this state for two or three years. At length Badooa Gorukdas of Pineeallee, and his brothers took counsel together and agreed that it was not for their honor that their master while they stood by, should be kept out of his throne. Afterwards they went together to Rana Kurunjee and said 'Why have you become cold and why sit you here?—If you exert yourself you will win back the throne of Danta.' The Rana said, 'No way occurs to me if any occur to you pursue it.' The Guduwees said 'Summon your Sirdars.' He summoned them. Sahab Singh Bhattee came the Thakor of Ghorad, Unop Singh Rathor, also the Thakor of Hurad, and the Thakor of Godhunge. Devedas Waghela. These three Sirdars met and came to the conclusion that, 'Without we procure the aid of Bahádur Khan the Deewan of Pihlunpoor our object cannot be effected.' However, they considered that the Deewan's assistance was not to be obtained without a great deal of money, which under present circumstances they could not procure. Afterwards Kurun Singh sent for his younger brother *Gomed Singh* who was at Nágel and said to him, 'You have a daughter who is a virgin, if you will marry her

‘to Bulādūr Khān we shall get back our place.’ Oomed Singh said, ‘If the place be got back, you will be the master of the cushion; what gain will accrue to me that I should give my daughter to the *loorka*?’ Then Kurunjee gave him a written deed for five villages to be placed in his possession on the recovery of Dāntā. The gift consisted of half the village of Nāgā, the villages of Thānā, Koondol, Pāmoondurā, and Wuroosun, and the present village of Gudh which was afterwards founded in the lands of Koondol. Oomed Singh then agreed to do as they wished. Afterwards the three Gudwees went to Pāhlunpoor, and had an interview with Bulādūr Khān, and settled that he should help them to recover the place, and that, for his so doing Oomed Singh’s daughter should be betrothed to him. The Deewanjee was very much pleased, and said, ‘I will recover your place for you, and the marriage shall be performed afterwards.’ The cocoa nut and a rupee were then presented, and the betrothal concluded. They took the Deewanjee’s force with them and went against Dāntā and encamped among the mowra trees of Poonjpoor from whence they sent a message to Umur Singh, demanding that he should quit Dāntā. Then Umur Singh considered—‘The Pāldun poor force has come, so that now I shall not be able to keep Dāntā.’ So he sent to say ‘I will give up your Dāntā to you but what do you assign to me for my subsistence?’ It was then arranged that he should have five villages in addition to the fifteen he held already, namely, Jetpoor, Nana Surra Torā, Khāree and Bāmuneeco, and besides these a fourth share of the Matujee’s transit dues. At that time the Mata received a rupee from each passenger. For some years four annas were paid to the chief of Soodāsuna but afterwards confusion began to occur in the accounts whereupon the Rānā commenced to levy only twelve annas from each person leaving the Soodāsuna share out of the question and said ‘Do you take your four annas from whoever passes the gate of your village.’ From this time they began to levy the four annas at Soodāsunā.

Rānā Kurunjee now came to Dāntā and took his seat upon the cushion. When the force was ready to return home the lady was sent for from Nāgā to a spot in the lands of Thānā.

where four mango trees grow beside a hillock, and there she was married to the Deewānjee. The whole were escorted to Pāhlunpoor.

Thus Kurun Singh had two sons, Rutun Singh, and Ubhe Singh. Rutun Singh ascended the throne. He had previously put to death the two Wāghela Thākors of Dhunālee, whose names were Lārkhān and Pārkhān, two brothers. The story is as follows,—Thus Lārkhānjee once on a time had come to Dāntā to pay his respects to Rānā Kurunjee, because he too was one of the Dāntā Sirdārs. At that time Koonwur Rutun Singh was playing like a boy though he was thirty years old. Lārkhānjee said, 'How long are you to continue a child?' and ridiculed him. The Koonwur went and repeated what the Thākor had said to the Rānā. Kurunjee said, 'It is well! 'then kill me, and be called Rānā.' The Koonwur said, 'Sire I may you be preserved, but him I will certainly kill.' Then the Rānā said, 'You must get the strength first.' As soon as the matter came to Lārkhānjee's ears he started off home. Two years after this, Rānā Kurunjee went by chance to Nāgel. Thither the aforementioned two Wāghela brothers came to meet him. Then the Koonwur thought 'To-day 'I will put them to death.' He arranged with some followers of his that they should take Lārkhānjee with them to the Suruswatee river to bathe, keeping Pārkhānjee with the Rānā, and that the former should be killed there, and a gun then fired as a signal for the other brother also to be put to death. Accordingly the Koonwur set off to bathe, taking a javelin with him. He thrust Lārkhān through with this javelin, and his followers finished him; a gun was then fired, and the men who were about the Rānā, as soon as they heard the report, put Pārkhān to death. When Buhādur Khan, the Deewān of Pāhlunpoor, became aware of this matter, he said, 'These 'two Thākors had my safe-conduct; I must, therefore, take 'precautions lest the Rānā should ill-treat their families.' He therefore placed two hundred horse in Dhunālee and Shesh-ranoo, and the possession thus acquired has been retained, so that the villages have fallen under Pāhlunpoor. The deceased left each a son, one of which sons went to live at a village of his own, named Godhuncce, where his descendants

still remain, the other went to the house of his father's sister at Soodisun¹, and obtained 'wanta' from the chief of that estate.

Rutan Singh reigned about five years after the death of his father, and died leaving no son. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Uble Singh. This Rana brought to Dantā a Mahratta named Urjoon Row Chopuro to whom he promised the 'chouth' of the Danta possessions. The reason was that his Sirdars and puttawuts, and his brothers too were giving trouble as were also the neighbouring Rajas. Urjoon Row brought a hundred Gulkowar horse with him, he lived at Dantā and at first was satisfied with a trifling exercise of authority, but when two or three years had passed over he began to rule as if in his own right, and to build a small fort at Dantā for his residence and to annoy the inhabitants. Then the Rana began to be afraid lest his very throne should be encroached upon. Meanwhile this Soubah while he was building his house, took by force for that purpose bamboo rafters that were lying at the doors of some Rajpoots' houses in the village. Then the eyes of the Rajpoots were split and when the Mahratta soldiers began to jabber their 'ikarum' 'tikarum' ² ordering people here and there a fight would have been the result had not the Rajpoots reflected that it would be hard upon the Rana if a struggle were to take place. They went to the durbār, and complained that the strangers had begun to give them much annoyance. Then said the Rana 'What is an annoyance to you is first an annoyance to me'. He summoned all his Sirdars. The Koonwur Shree Mān Singh was at this time about five and thirty years of age, he said to the Ranajee, 'If it be your order I will drive these people out'. The Rana said 'Do so as you are a good son'. Then the Koonwur sent to the Chopuro to say, 'Do you now quit this place'. The Mahrattas paying no attention to the summons the Koonwur blockaded them and cut off their supply of water grain, and grass and threatened also to slay them unless they retired. At length they retired but the Dantā people moved with them encircling them at a short

¹ [The words *śaḍān*, *tikaḍān* mean in the Marathi language 'hither', 'thither'.]

distance off, until they reached Gudwārā, where they left them, and returned home. The Thākōr Soojājee of Bhāloosunā then entertained them, and began to quarrel with the Soodāsunī people, saying that they must give him possession of his wantā lands in their limits. Then Tuteh Singh, Thākōr of Soodāsunī, came to Dantā to seek aid from Koonwur Mān Singh, who taking a force with him, went to the assistance of Soodāsunā, and drove out the invaders. Then the Bhāloosunā chief became alarmed lest, if a feud arose between him and Dantā, he should be destroyed; he, therefore, dismissed the Gukowār force, which moved off towards Ahmedabad. The Koonwur having effected a settlement returned to Dantā, soon after which, in the year 1851 (A.D. 1795), the Rānā Ubhe Singh died.

Ubhe Singh had three sons, Mān Singh who succeeded him, and whose mother was a Chowree lady of Wusāee, and Jugut Singh, and Nār Singh, whose mother was a Bhuteeānee, the daughter of Sāheeb Singh, Thākōr of Ghorād, near Tursunghmo.

Mān Singh's first exploit was to make a raid upon Dhunāl, a village of Poseenā, from whence he carried off the cattle, but the 'wār,' pursuing him, recovered the spoil. Six months after that he struck the Poseenā village of Chāngod, which he plundered. The village became uninhabited, and has up to this moment so remained. When the Muharajā Gumbheer Singh, of Ecdur, went with an army on an expedition against the Mewāsees, he sent for Rānā Mān Singh, who joined him with forty horse. After this moolukgceree was completed and the Rānā was returning home, the Muhārājā presented him with a horse worth a thousand rupees. After a reign of five years, Mān Singh died, in Sumwut, 1856 (A.D. 1800), and, as there were disagreements among the brothers at that time, people said he had been poisoned.

His brother, Jugut Singh, on mounting the throne made his inaugural foray (teekā-dhār)¹ on the village of Nendurdee, in Gudwārā, which he plundered and burnt, carrying off hostages, because the Bheels of that village had harried the

¹ [The word *lika daur* means the foray which the Rāja, after his investiture, was bound to make on the territory of some neighbouring Raja (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i. 315)]

buffaloes of Nowa-wās, and the pūtel had come to Danta saying, 'Give me a spade, that if anywhere there is a bone left of my lord Man Singh, I may dig it up. Had that lord been alive the Nendurdee Bheels had not carried off my buffaloes.' On another occasion he collected a force, and went against Poseenā, when Keshree Singh, Thākōr of Poseenā, came to meet him between Hurād and his own village and, presenting a horse to the Rana as an offering, gave security. The force turning back went to Gudwārā, and advanced upon Muhāwud, upon which Thākōr Wukhtōjee came, and presented a horse, and, making an agreement, gave security. After this the Rana-jee exacted a horse from Hatheejee Gudhea of Nanā Kotharun against whom a claim existed on account of a robbery. The force returned home from thence.

Again in the year 1870 (A.D. 1814), the Rana-jee collected a force, and carried off all the buffaloes of Dhunāl. He next struck the village of Bīwul Kothecoo, belonging to the Raja of Derol, and plundered it. Next year he struck and plundered Kherōj which belonged to a brother of the Thākōr of Poseenā, on which occasion two of his men were killed. His brother, Nar Singh, who was married to a lady of that place, came to him, and said, 'I shall be blamed at this time, people will say, "Nar Singh came with them and caused his father-in-law's village to be plundered".' On that account they turned back, and went to strike the village of Dhuroee. At this place the enemy gained over a Barud named Keertajee, who was with the force, upon which this Keertajee going to the gate of the village, said to the Rana that the omens were not good. On this account they turned back, and came to Thanā, where they encamped. At this halting place the Rana called together the Sirdars and the minister and asked from what source he was to pay the arrears due to the mercenaries. They answered that Thākōr Rutun Singh of Pawudee and Thākōr Undojee of Undhareea incited the Mewasees to enter the Danta country, and caused them to plunder and that, therefore, their two villages should be plundered and the means of paying the mercenaries procured. The Rana then prepared to advance upon Undhareea upon which the Thākōr of that village fled to Pawudee, and he and the others who

were threatened got ready for the fight. Now, in the end of the night the Rānā's army broke up from Thānā, and advanced to Undhārecā, when they found the village deserted. They went to Momun-wās, where they received a fire of musketry from the defences. Upon this the mercenaries forming the advance of the Rānā's force fired, and one of their balls killed Thākor Undojee of Undhārecā; the rest of the people who were assembled at Momun-wās then fled, and took to the hills, and the village was struck and plundered. The Rānā immediately advanced, and halted at Pāwudee, which village also he plundered, and, carrying off the property, turned back, and encamped at Motā Surrā. At this place the Thākor of Pāwudee came to the Rānājee, bringing security, and it was arranged that a third share of Undhārecā should be the Rānājee's property, to which effect bonds were interchanged. After this, security was taken from the surrounding Mewasees, and in 1872 (A. D. 1816), the Rānā broke up the army, and returned home to Dāntā.

Thākor Wukhtojee Jeetojee said once to Rana Jugut Singh, 'My expenses are not supplied by the villages of Khābhee-wās and Kunbee-wās; therefore give me something in addition.' The Rānā said, 'You will not get anything more than that which was assigned to your father.' Wukhtojee upon this went off in anger to Deesa, to Deewān Shumsher Khān, and said to him,—'If you will give me a force, I will go and do some injury to the Dāntā country, that I may procure satisfaction of my demands.' At that time, however, there was friendship between the Deewān and the Rānā; therefore the former wrote to the latter, to say,—'Come to terms with Wukhtojee, or he will do some mischief.' The Rānā then sent for Wukhtojee, and offered to give him a grant of the villages of Oonturee and Bhootāsūr, if he would release them from an Uteet to whom they had been mortgaged. Wukhtojee assented to this proposal, and released the two villages, which were uninhabited, and founded there a single village, called Ubhāpuroo, where he placed his family, living himself at Dāntā, and performing service there as Prudhān. Two years afterwards he died, and Ubhāpuroo then fell to his sons, and to his brother Bhuvjee.

At this time Sirdār Singh Thakor of Koondol died, leaving no son upon which Rana Jugut Singh and his brother, Nar Singh attached the five villages of the Koondol estate, and brought all the moveable property of the late Thakor to Danta. The funeral ceremonies of Sirdār Singh were performed at Koondol, and his Thakorine received three wells for her maintenance. However, Bhuvjee Jeetojee made a claim on the estate and said 'Something, at any rate must be given me 'from Koondol'. Rana Jugut Singh said 'Do you enjoy what 'was given to your father, Jeetojee—Khabhee was and Kun beew is, you will not get any of this property'. Then Bhuvjee went off in anger to Pahlunpoor accompanied by Melheroo Sindhee, an old Jemādar of the Ranas, who was also on ill terms with the Rana. Now Bhuvjee having gone to Pahlunpoor made a petition to Miles Sahib about the right of succession to Koondol which he contended was vested equally in the Ranajee and himself while the Ranajee had taken possession of the whole. 'Therefore' said Bhuvjee 'I will press a deed assigning the whole village to the English government and whatever it may come into the mind of that 'government to give me I will receive'. Some adherent of the Ranajee's wrote this intelligence to his master who thereupon sent his brother Nar Singh, and Jeewa Kulāl a minister of his to Pahlunpoor offering to make over a seven anna share of the whole territory of Danta to the English government and to permit the attachment of the state by that government. Upon this Bhuvjee's hand became powerless. After this Bhuvjee took service with Futteh Khān the Deewan of Pahlunpoor who gave him his fourth share of the village of Nāgel. The Rana subsequently gave Bhuvjee the village of Kurunpoor, and they drank the red cup together. The English government placed a garrison in the Danta country in the year 1876 (A D 1820).

In the time of this Jugut Singh two hundred horse and five hundred foot of the Mewasee Koolees of the Kakurej made an inroad upon the Danta villages of Ruttunpoor and Poonjpoor and carried off the buffaloes. Jugut Singh mounted on the 'wār' with fifty horse and two hundred foot. They met in the lands of Motā Surra, and a battle was fought, in which

twenty five of the freebooters were slain, and Bheekho Jemadar, a Bhattēe Rajpoot, on the Rana's side, was wounded, and had his horse killed. The cattle were recovered, and when the Rana returned to Dāntā, he presented Bheekho Jemadar with a gold anklet, a horse, and other gifts.

Now as Jugut Singh had no son, he proposed to Nār Singh to adopt one of his two sons, Jhālūm Singh and Huree Singh. Nār Singh thought, 'If the son obtain the cushion, the father will have to sit at his feet and make obeisance to him.' Some people, however, persuaded Jugut Singh that Nār Singh meditated to take him off by poison, or to slay him with the sword, and as he believed the story, he began to keep within his house, which he fortified, and never came near the council room: the consequence of which was that the Bheels and Koolees of the surrounding villages commenced a system of plundering. At length the people came to him and petitioned — 'If your highness neglect in this manner to keep up any order, and remain within your palace, how can the affairs of the country be carried on?' Now Rana Jugut Singh had no confidence in any Karbharee but only in Kulal Jeewa by whose advice he acted, and the people blamed him because he employed a liquor seller as his minister. At this time there was a Seesodee Rajpoot named Guman at Dāntā a slave girl of whose establishment this Jeewa carried off by force. On the other hand this Rajpoot Guman carried on an intrigue with one of Jeewa's two wives. For these reasons there was a bitter enmity between these two. But Guman could say nothing to Jeewa for fear of the Rana-je. However there were many other ministers, as well as people who were very inimical to Jeewa.

Once on a time the Kulal set out to make the assessment of the year's crops, and he assessed a piece of rent free garden land that belonged to Guman, and when the Rajpoot protested against this he paid him no attention but abused him on the contrary. Guman then became very angry and began to consider how he could put the Kulal to death. His first step was to carry his mother and brother to the Poseena village of Hurad. The next morning at dawn he got up, and took his station opposite the Kulal's door. Jeewa soon came out of his

house, and seeing the Rajpoot sitting there, asked where he was going to. Guman said that he was going to a certain village, but that he waited to see what the omens were. The Kulâl was a little alarmed in truth, but he went on, and finished his business with all haste and began to return quickly home. The Rajpoot followed him, and struck him from behind. A struggle ensued, the Kulâl struck Guman on the head with a brass vessel he carried in his hand but received from him two stabs of a dagger. He escaped, however, from his grasp and ran off for shelter to the house of a Dher which he was entering when the Rajpoot, who had picked up his sword and shield ran quickly upon him and slew him. Guman took the ornaments off the corpse and ran away threatening some people who raised an alarm that he would kill them too, unless they remained quiet. He got clear off into the hull. A servant went to wake the Ranajee who was still lying down, and told him what had happened. The Ranî was very much distressed and ordered that the slayer of Jeewa should be put to death. On all sides horsemen then gallopped off, but as they were all glad that Jeewî had been killed they merely went up and down for a time and then returned and said that the murderer had not come into their hands. Upon this Jugut Singh felt satisfied that it was Nar Singh who had caused his Kurbhâree to be put to death intending to slay him also and he began to say so before people. Nar Singh then sent to the Ranajee to say, 'Why do you give me a bad name in this way? I will leave your town.' He prepared to go off to Ahmednugger. The people however went to the Ranî and said 'Nar Singh is going off in anger. You must bring him round and get him to stay, for it will not be to your credit if he goes.' Then the Ranî sent men and persuaded Nâr Singh to return and people made the two brothers drink opium together. A month afterwards however some one again excited the Ranî's suspicion that Nâr Singh sought to kill him, so he went to Soodâsunî and stayed there two months with Thikor Mohobut Singh. Nâr Singh and the ministers all of them went to give him satisfaction and succeeded in bringing him back to Danta. He stayed however only ten or twelve days and again flying took refuge in the monastery.

of an Uteet, at Pethapoor, whom he informed that Nar Singh purposed to kill him. He stayed there a month and was again persuaded to return home, and soon after he was attacked with fever and other disease, which after a month's illness carried him off on the 7th Phalgun wud, in the year 1879 (A D 1823)

Nar Singh resumed the cushion after the death of Jugut Singh Rana

In the year 1892 (A D 1836) Rana Juwan Singh of Oodeipoor came on pilgrimage to Shree Umbajee on which occasion he invited Rana Nar Singh to visit him. Nar Singh accordingly went to the Matajee's and took up his lodging there. The Rana of Oodeipoor now sent to inquire, 'In what manner will your visit be made? Have you any record on the subject in your durbar?' Nar Singh then inquired of all the Sirdars and Karbharees but no record was found. Then all the old men were enquired of and among them I too (the narrator of this account) was questioned. I said, that Rana Kanur Dev had married at Oodeipoor and that the Seesodunee lady had become a satee at the gate of Kotura where her monument might be seen to this day¹. Upon this Rana Juwan Singh sent for Nar Singh to visit him and rose to receive him. Nar Singh presented a horse and a gun worth a hundred rupees and Juwan Singh gave him in return a horse and a pearl necklace. He presented the family priest also with a pair of gold armlets. Juwan Singh after remaining two days set off homewards on which occasion Koonwur Jhalum Singh with his horsemen escorted him as far as Seerolee.

Nar Singh and Jhalum Singh went in the year 189—, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon to Aboo on a pilgrimage. On that occasion there were great sunghs assembled at Aboo from Goozerat Marwar and Mewar. At the time of the eclipse people began to bathe in the Nukhee tulāy when an ascetic came and said 'Let not any one bathe in the tank at this time whoever does so will die'. Some of the pilgrims believed this and did not bathe but the greater part disbelieved and bathed. At the time sixty four Yogeenes²

¹ Vide vol i pp 102-3

chariots descended from the sky, and the Yogeenees commenced bathing. In the morning the cholera broke out and as many as had bathed died with few exceptions. The Rāna and the Koonwur had bathed after the eclipse was over, therefore they did not suffer, nor did any of the sungh that was with them die. They remained four days, and then went to Umbijee.

After this the Governor Sahib came from Bombay to Sidra and invited all the Bhoomas of the Myhee Kanta to visit him. Rāna Nar Singh and Koonwur Jhalum Singh went with the rest to Sadra, and presented to the Sahib a horse and a piece of gold tissue, in return for which the Sahib gave both father and son a pair of shawls and a turban. All the other Bhoomas gave and received dresses of honor. At length the Sahib returned to Bombay and all the Bhoomas went home. The principal Hindoo Rajas were Maharajā Gumbheer Singh of Eedur, Maharajā Kurun Singh of Ahmednugger and Rana Nar Singh, the principal Mohammedan Sardars were Intteh Khan the Deewan of Pahlunpoor the Nowaub of Rhalunpoor and Shumsher Khan the Deewan of Wurgum.

After this Rana Nar Singh went to Major Miles at Pahlunpoor about an arrangement for his country and represented that he had given a share in it to the English government to keep order, but that instead of agents of the English government there were sent employes of the Deewan of Pahlunpoor, with whom he had made no agreement whatever. However the Major gave Nar Singh no satisfaction and as the Nowratra was near he was obliged to take leave to attend at the Matajee's. At length when Lang Sahib¹ came to Sadra the Deewan's attachment was removed after it had been maintained for about twenty seven years.

Nar Singh died in Sumwut 190— and his corpse was committed to the flames by Jhalum Singh at Gungwa. The young Rana also built a chutree at that place.

¹ Colonel Lang an officer who for several years held the appointment of political agent in the Myhee Kanta and whose name is there widely and deservedly respected.

NOTE ON THE SOODĪSUNĀ BRANCH OF THE FAMILY OF
DĀNTĀ¹

When Guj Singh, the son of Rānā Mān Singh, was the occupant of the cushion of Dāntā, and his brother, Juswojee, held the estate of Rānpoor, Umur Singh, the son of Poonjā Rānā, Mān Singh's brother, was at Soodāsunā. At this time, the Soodāsunā estate consisted of the single village of that name. Umur Singh, who was a valiant warrior, sought to bring into subjection to himself Juswojee's estate of Rānpoor, on which account he made frequent forays upon Rānpoor, and carried off the cattle. Once on a time, when he had made an incursion, and was driving off the buffaloes, Juswojee sent to him to say, 'Uncle! it was not suitable that you should have driven away the buffalo cow which supplies me with milk.' Umur Singh answered, 'There's many a male buffalo in the lands of Rānpoor, if you want milk, drink from one of them.' Then Juswojee came to Dāntā, and told this story to Mān Singh in great sorrow. Mān Singh said, 'We cannot come round Umur Singh at the present time, some day I will look after him.' After this, Mān Singh, retaining enmity in his heart, incited the Mewāsees and freebooters to put Umur Singh to death, promising a reward, upon which their people began to annoy Soodāsunā. On one occasion, the Gudhceās drove off the Soodāsunā cattle, and Umur Singh going on the 'wār,' overtook them at Bhāloosunā, and recovered the spoil. One of his cultivators, however, came to him, and said, 'You have recovered all the cattle, but there was a bullock belonging to me, worth a hundred rupees, which is not among them, so you have made no "wār" for me.' On this Umur Singh turned back after the forayers, and recovering the bullock began to drive it home, but the animal was restive and would not be driven, but ran off continually. At last Umur Singh thought, that if the bullock were carried off by the forayers, he would lose his honor, so he killed it with his spear, and returned. On account of this murder, he met his death

¹ [Soodāsana is a petty state in the Nāg Marwār district of Mahī Kāntha, on the borders of Palanpur, comprising nineteen villages and paying tribute to Baroda and Idar.]

within four months of that time. It happened thus :—He had gone to *Chitrānnee* to pay a visit of friendship to the *Thākēt*. As he returned a *meer* (minstrel) joined his company. *Umur Singh* said to him, 'There are many outlaws about at this time and you cannot keep up with us, so you must not come.' The *meer* said, 'Sire ! I must needs come with you.' So saying, he went on as before. Meanwhile, at the village of *Pulkrūree*, *Umur Singh* fell in with a party of the *Rābēe* of *Rhādunpoor*'s horse, who were out on a plundering expedition. As the *Rāspoot* party retreated before them, the mare, which the *meer* rode, broke down. Then *Umur Singh* called to him to get off, and kill the mare, and mount behind on his own horse, but, before the *meer* could get down, the pursuers overtook him. He cried out, 'Sire ! do not go away and leave me.' *Umur Singh* turned back to help him, and, at that moment, received a ball in his chest, and fell dead.

After the death of *Huthecojee*,¹ the son of *Umur Singh*, his *Koonwur*, *Mhōmān Singh*, being only eighteen months old, *Juswojee* took possession of *Soodāsunā*. *Huthecojee*'s *Thāko* *rine* came thereupon to the *Rānā* and said, 'How shall I subsist now ?' upon which the *Rānā* gave her the village of *Udeyrūn*, where her descendants still remain.

Juswojee continued to hold *Soodāsunā* and had five *Koonwurs*. *Sirdār Singh*, the eldest, succeeded him, *Ujbojee* and *Dhunrajjee* received from the *Rānā* the village of *Solānoo*; *Nāthjee* and *Jorjee* received *Juspoor*, which was founded by *Juswojee*. In *Juswojee*'s time, a *Gulgowār* army came, under the leading of a *Soubah*, named *Vitoobā*, and caused annoyance to *Soodāsunā*, at which time *Bhoj Rāj Rāwul Togo Wunol*, and *Ghehojee Bādoowā* the *Guduwee* of *Paneeālēe* came to use. The army struck the village and retired, and the people then returned from among the hills, and rebuilt it. At this time, the *Gulgowār* army used to come every three or four years, and, when the people of the village heard of their approaching which they did generally when they were about ten kos off, they caused the *Trughāyas* to beat their drums, and raise a cry of 'Fly, fly, the army is coming !' upon which the people fled and, taking shelter among the hills, concealed

¹ See p. 146

themselves there. When the force came up, the village was plundered and set on fire, and then, if the Mahrattas maintained themselves there for any length of time, an arrangement was come to, and a certain sum of money for which the villagers assessed themselves, was paid as tribute, or jumā bundee, and the people returned, and re-inhabited the village.¹

When Juswojee died, Sirdār Singh assumed the cushion. Now Rānājee Guj Singh, having attained to old age, and having no son, took Sirdār Singh into his lap, but, after that, a son, named Prutheerāj, was born to him. After Guj Singh's death, Sirdār Singh founded, upon this, a claim to the cushion of Dantā, and, in compensation for his abandonment of it, received Wusace, Dāwol, Dalesmoo, and several other villages. Sirdār Singh's brothers 'went out' for a subsistence, and obtained certain lands and fields.

Sirdār Singh's eldest son was Oomed Singh. His four younger sons, Chundra Singh, Wukhut Singh,² Surtan Singh, and Pertāp Singh, received the village of Wusace, to be held jointly. Sirdār Singh having made a foray upon Tembā, and carried off cattle and hostages, the 'war' came from Tembā and a conflict ensued, in which Koonwur Oomed Singh was slain. He left three sons, Umur Singh, the Pithuwee Koonwur, Jugoojee, and Ugur Singh, who received five villages to be held jointly.

On the death of Sirdār Singh, he was succeeded by his grandson, Umur Singh. The Kheelor district, which lies between Soodāsunā and Taringa, was held by Hurecol Rajpoots, who were puttāwuts of Dāntā, but these, being much annoyed by the Mewasees, left the district, and retired to the village of Kurbuthee, in the Wurnugger Talooka, upon which the chief of Soodāsunā took possession of the district, with the consent of the Rānājee. In Umur Singh's time, a Gunkowār army was repulsed with loss to them, but without a single man being killed on the part of Soodāsunā. It was thus Umur Singh who took possession of Dantā.³

¹ 'Many times, says the narrator of this story, do I recollect having 'to take flight on such occasions as these.'

² [Tod more correctly writes Bakht Singh. *Pakli* is Persian for fortune.]

³ See p. 149.

Umur Singh left a son Futtch Singh whose sons were Mohobut Singh and Punjee. In the time of Mohobut Singh in Samvat 1860 (A D 1804) Kākājee brought a Guikowar army, and a conflict ensued. The Mahrattas lost sixty men, but the Thākor was assisted by the spirit of Miniknāth Bhāw² and did not lose a man but gained the victory. This Miniknāth is the same Bhāw who permitted the erection of Ahmedabad and who has two shrines on the hills at Tur sungumo and Soodāsuni where he used to dwell. Mohobut Singh made a foray upon Runsheepoor, and carried off cattle and hostages because the Bhels of that place had harried the buffaloes of his village of Diwol.

Mohobut Singh left four sons Huree Singh Rutun Singh, Purbut Singh and Mokum Singh. Huree Singh enjoyed the cushion four years and was succeeded by Rutun Singh who held it for two years and died. His son, Bhooput Singh succeeded him and lived a year afterwards. Then Purbut Singh the present Thākor succeeded. Mokum Singh died in infancy.

² [This is the ascetic who permitted the erection of Ahmedabad and after whom the Manik Chauk and Manik Biry are named. See *Bombay Gazette* vol iv (Ahmedabad) p 276 and *J B B R* 18 1917 18 p 91 note.]

CHAPTER XII

MEMARAT CEMBERT SINGH OF LEDUR

Now Khomán Singh, a Châmpáwut, had done good service to the raja, who therefore said to him, 'I have a great desire to promote you, but I am doubtful whether, if you are promoted, you will not turn against me.' Then the chief took an oath that he would never draw sword against his prince, upon which the raja granted to him the estate of Wankaner,¹ with the right of receiving the royal embrace on entering the Court.

The village of Pánol belonged to a bard who died without a male heir. The mother and wife of the deceased maintained in his house relations of their own, a father and two sons, and procured wives for the youths. They also assigned a sixth share of the village to them, and gave them a separate establishment. However, the two brothers, in the hope of gaining possession of the whole village, formed the design of putting the ladies to death. They slew the elder lady with a dagger, but the bard's widow escaped, and making her way with great difficulty to Ledur, laid her complaint before the raja. Gumbheer Singh, upon this, sent for the principal bards of the neighbourhood, and commanded them to go to Pánol, and tell the two murderers that it was his order they should quit the place. This order was, however, disobeyed. The raja then sent for his chiefs one by one, and said, 'Do you go and slay these two bards, and make Pánol crown land.' Each chief separately replied, 'If you please to take one of my villages do so, but it is not fit to put a bard to death, you should therefore pardon this offence.' Upon this the raja sent money to Hyderabad, in Sindh, and hired there fifty Abyssinians. When these made their appearance, all the chiefs and others, who knew what was intended, strove to change the raja's resolution. He did not, however, attend to their remonstrances. Then all

¹ This is Wankaner in the Ledur country not to be confounded with Wankaner of Boreth.

repaired to Khoman Singh, and said, 'The raja bestows his complete favor upon you, so if you will exert yourself to persuade him, the birds will certainly be saved.' Khoman Singh went to the raja and said, 'Have the kindness to pardon the offence of these birds.' The raja refused the request, upon which the chief of Wankaner replied 'Henceforth I will never make a petition to you any more.' The raja said, 'Do as you please.' Khoman Singh was pained at this reply, and immediately rising departed to his home.

Now the raja sent the Abyssinians to put the bards to death, and these last getting intelligence of the matter one of the young men cut off the heads of his two children. He slew also two of the Abyssinians, and maimed himself so frightfully that he died. His father also killed himself, but his brother, who was absent from home escaped. The Abyssinians returned to Eedur. After these events the bard who survived having collected from distant places five hundred of his caste fellows came to Eedur to compel Gumbheer Singh to make reparation, but the raja with the aid of other bards got rid of them. Khoman Singh took the death of the bards so much to heart that he determined on retiring to the Himalaya mountains to die. The raja with the chiefs of the state, proceeded to Wankaner for the purpose of inducing him to change his resolution and Gumbheer Singh said 'If it is because of this bard that you are departing you shall have a larger village instead of Panol.' The chief, however made answer 'If you had listened to me when I came to entreat you I would have remained but I will not now remain though you adopt a million expedients.' Khoman Singh left home accompanied by eleven attendants—his relations friends or followers. In his train was a dweller among the hills who had suffered so much annoyance from the Bheels of his village that he went to lay down his life among the snows of the Himalayas in order that he might become the chief of the district in another birth and take revenge upon the Bheels. The desire of all the rest, however was to pass to the heaven of Vishnoo. They had adopted the saffron robe, they had laid aside their arms for staves twisted round with silver wire, the horses they rode were stripped of all warlike ornaments. The chieftains wives

and the inhabitants of his village were very much distressed at such a sight. Raja Gumbheer Singh, throwing himself in the way as the sad procession swept along the road, entreated Khoman Singh for the last time, and said, 'I will lay my turban in the dust at your feet.' The Champawut answered, 'Should you do so, I would slay myself on the spot.' The raja was unable to urge anything more.

Khoman Singh's son and heir, Dheerjee, who was at this time twenty years old, obtained the estate of Wankaner, and served the heir apparent, Prince Oomed Singh, from whose kindness he received an addition to his lands and the privilege of sounding kettle-drums at the head of his cavalcade.

Now Raja Gumbheer Singh was very partial to Dheerjee of Wankaner for reasons which will appear from the following narrative. During the time that the Rows of Pol had made forays upon Eedur in assertion of their claim to the cushion, they had plundered and burnt many villages. The raja therefore, conceived the desire of retaliating by striking Pol. In A. D. 1808 he entertained six thousand matchlock men, and summoned all his vassals at Eedur, with whom he advanced as far as Wuralee, without letting any of them know that the expedition was destined against Pol. Their next encampment, however, was at a pass four miles from that place.

When the raja's army left Ledur the Row of Pol and the Rehwar and Waghela chiefs who had of old been vassals of his house, were all on the alert and sent out scouts to bring intelligence. The only approach to Pol is by a pass almost in the bed of a river which flows between lofty cliffs from east to west. The pass is defended also by two gates. The Row caused both of these gates to be built up, and at each of them he placed some of his 'brothers' and mercenaries armed with matchlocks who picked off the raja's men whenever they showed themselves. Gumbheer Singh lost forty men in this defile, and after encamping near it four months was still unsuccessful in discovering any means of overcoming the difficulties opposed to him. He was therefore in the greatest despondency. At this time he caused four hundred gold armlets to be made, which he distributed among the Bheels of the neighbourhood,

and said to them 'Show me a way by which I can get into Pol' The Bheds said, 'There is no other road than this one, but a party with scaling ladders might ascend one by one a mountain path on the south side, though it would be a very difficult task for them to carry even their arms' The raja sent at once for ladders, and, superintending the operation in person caused his followers one by one, to ascend. At this time the Cedur chiefs agreed that as the Koompiwuts were the raja's great favourites, they should lead the way on the occasion. Dheerjee, of Wankaner, and other Champawuts, however privately agreed that their time was come for taking revenge against one of the chiefs now with the Row, who had killed their relation. When the Koompiwuts mounted, therefore, Dheerjee and his friends mounted with them, and pushed on to Pol itself. They then called to the Arabs to wind their horns, and fired a volley of musketry. Upon this the Row and his family fled over the hills, and Gumbheer Singh entering Pol with the horse hair fans waving before him caused a cushion to be placed in the mansion of the Row and took his seat thereon. The raja, after remaining there a month was disposed to send for his family, and make Pol his residence but the Row began to make daily inroads upon the Cedur villages, and the chiefs said 'Your Highness has taken Pol and increased your fame, let all the dwellings with the exception of this mansion be given to the flames and let us return to Cedur lest the Row enter therein' Then the raja, following their advice, struck his camp and came to Bheelora. At this time the mercenaries became urgent for their pay which was two or three months in arrears they surrounded the raja and for two days prevented his smoking his hookah or taking any food. At last he sent for the head men of all the crown villages and said to them 'You swallow up the whole produce of my villages and give me hardly anything. Now therefore what remedy have you to propose as the troops have set a watch over me?' Then the head men willingly paid fines according to their ability. The raja returned to Cedur and because the Champawuts had done good service in the matter, he extended much favor to them.

At this time, a force of Sindhus five thousand strong had

attacked Doongurpoor, and taken it, and having seized the Rawul, and placed him in a litter, they carried him about with their army. They now advanced into Wanswarā, and a severe engagement was fought there, in which many on both sides were slain. A number of the villages of Wanswarā were subdued. Then Urjoon Singh, one of the feudal chiefs of Wanswarā, assembled a force, with which he defeated the Sindhis, and drove them out. These disturbances continued for five years, and the pay of Urjoon Singh's mercenaries having fallen into arrears, and no means existing for satisfying their demands, that chief moved his troops into Loonawarā and Balasimor, where he exacted tribute, and at length, advancing into the Eedur country, came to Palya. Now Dheerjee, of Wankaner, was at feud with the chief of Palya, but upon good terms with Urjoon Singh. He went, therefore, and had an interview with the latter. When the chief of Palya heard of this, he also went to meet Urjoon Singh, and said, 'I am at feud with Puharjee, of Thodura, I will give you a sum of money if you will put him to death.' Urjoon Singh accepted this office. Now Dheerjee, who was a friend of the chief of Thodurā, endeavoured, without success, to dissuade Urjoon Singh, and at last went away in a rage, saying, 'I go to Thodura to wait there for you. Come and fight with me as soon as you can.' He went to Thodura, and the chief of that place also began to collect mercenaries, but could secure the services of a few only. He therefore went to Eedur, and said to the Prince Oomed Singh, 'If you do not support me at this time I shall die fighting against the enemy and then Thodura will pass into their hands.' Upon this, the prince, too, advanced to Thodura with his forces. The assailants, now finding that they were overmatched, gave up their attempt, and all parties returned to their homes. On this occasion, also, the raja was much pleased with the conduct of Dheerjee.

When Subul Singh, the son of Soorajmul of Chāndunee, became a Dev, his two sons Sam Singh and Malum Singh, struggled for the possession of the estate. The elder son, Sam Singh, who had little ability, went off in anger to Wankaner. Malum Singh, on the other hand, went to Teentoe, and said to Kunukajet, the chief of that place, 'If you will place me

'on the cushion at Chandunee, I will take your Koonwur in my lap'¹ Kunukajee thereupon went to Chandunee, and began to say, 'Malum Singh shall sit upon the cushion' However, Dheerjee, of Wankaner, came and said, 'Sam Singh is the rightful heir, he shall sit upon the cushion' The chiefs quarrelled for some time, and then went home Soon after, Kunukajee raised four hundred mercenaries, with whom he attacked Wankaner Dheerjee engaged him, and killed ten or twelve of his men, meanwhile, the neighbouring chiefs came, and said, 'Why do you fight to the death about other people's quarrels?' They thus induced Kunukajee to retire, but a feud, not easily to be extinguished, had arisen between the two opponents Now, the Chandunee minister came to Raja Gumbheer Singh, and said, 'Muharaj! may it please you to come in person to place the young heir of Chandunee on the cushion' The raja said 'Did not Dheerjee and Kunukajee go to place him on the cushion!' The minister replied, 'Muhâraj! he whom they seat on the cushion cannot sit there, but the young chief whom you may be pleased to seat there' Then the raja said, 'If the village of Kothura be given to me I will come, and in exchange, I will give you that of Seeyolee' The minister obtained Sam Singh's consent, and passed a deed assigning Kothurâ to the raja, who thereupon went and seated the rightful heir on the cushion, and girt him with the sword, but as to the village about which he had spoken to the minister, that he never gave To the younger brother of Chandunee, he caused a single village to be assigned for his subsistence²

¹ Meaning that he would adopt the Koonwur as his own son

² Major Miles in his report on the Myhee Kantâ of the 21st of September, 1821, has the following —

Soorujmul father of Subul Singh of Chandunee died about forty years ago Subul Singh is said to possess a very moderate share of understanding and from his bad management Futteh Singh Thakor of Jhrow subsequently assumed the chief control among the Champawuts Futteh Singh died in A. D. 1805, and Anur Singh succeeded him and also died in A. D. 1819 Gopal Singh his son, is an infant and the affairs of this quarter have since fallen into great confusion Gopal Singh is about fifteen years of age The putta of the Champawuts has lately been partitioned from some quarrel between the two eldest sons of Subul Singh, Maljee and Samjee The partisan of the first

A month after the first affair at Thodura, Dheerjee collected a force and commenced an advance against Teentoe, on account of the feud about Chandunee; but the other chiefs interfered, and went to induce him to return. Kunukajee, upon this, made an attack upon Dheerjee's ally of Thodura, and Dheerjee, hearing the news, hastened to his assistance. A battle was fought, in which the chief of Teentoe was repulsed, with the loss of ten of his followers.

Kunukajee, however, returning home, began again to collect a number of mercenaries that he might attack Thodura a second time. Dheerjee, when he heard of this, called in Prince Oomed Singh to defend Thodura, who went thither, though the raja and others dissuaded him from doing so. Kunukajee advanced with his force into the lands of Thodura, and then heard this intelligence. He reflected, 'The heir apparent is within, and if any thing were to happen to him, it would not be right.' He therefore passed by the lands of

is Kunukajee, Thakor of Teentoe. The Raja of Eedur and Dheerjee have taken part with Samjee. The result after much disturbance and bloodshed has been the assumption of the town of Kher and half the pergunnah of Hursole by the Raja of Eedur, with the consent of Kunukajee who has taken charge of the remainder of the puttah. The proprietors nearly destitute of support complain of the conduct of all parties.

The following occurs in a report by Lieutenant Colonel Ballantine, dated Sadra 15th October 1822 —

'Chandunee — The relinquishment of this puttah was first sought by the owners who had quarrelled and its partition was the basis of the whole of the disturbances excited by Kunukajee and Dheerjee which, with Gumbheer Singh's after measures to check their usurpation led to the Champawnt rebellion. Maljee and Samjee are the sons of Subul Singh and it appears that they are in every respect incompetent to the charge of their puttah. The measure has since been referred to a commission of the Sardars and the following is the substance of the decision given by them —

The case of Maljee and Samjee being referred to our decision, we find it impossible to become their security or to associate them in our arrangements and obligations. Both brothers labour under the effects of excessive inebriety, even to unsanity, and both under these failings have committed the most atrocious acts, nor are they, in our judgement capable of improvement. Hence we give it as our opinion, that under these disqualifications, the following provision seems the most rational and equitable in their behalf, viz &c, &c, &c.'

Thodurā and went to Palya, and took hostages therefrom. There was no reason for his going to Palya, except that he wanted to raise money. He went afterwards to other villages and took hostages, and from thence he wrote to the prince, saying, '*Your highness is my lord, therefore it is not fit that you should remain in Thodura. When you oppose me in fight, I have neither eye, nor spear, nor bullet, therefore you make me to appear low in the world's sight.*' The prince was enraged at this letter also, so he gave Dheerjee some of his troops, and sent him against Kunukajee. Now, an Arab officer of the chief of Teentoe's force was exercising his horse, when Dheerjee's men fired upon him, and killed the horse. The Arab went to Kunukajee, and said, '*They have killed my horse, so I will now attack them.*' That chief said, '*Do not you go there to fight with them, but set matchlock men secretly beside the road in this ravine, and let us draw up in front, so that they may be shot down as they come against us.*' They did so, and the result was, that Dheerjee lost seventeen horsemen, and was obliged to turn back to Thodura.

Dheerjee, on this occasion, had dressed one of the troopers in his own clothes, which trooper happened to be slain. Now when Kunukajee's men stripped the dead of their clothes, they found Dheerjee's clothes among the rest, and therefore thought that he was killed. Upon this, the Teentoe chief mourned greatly, and taking the red turban off his head put on a white one. His son, Lāljee, then said to him '*How is it that you did not think of the matter before, since you mourn in this way now?*' He answered, '*You, all of you, turned my head, therefore it has happened thus.*' Afterwards, when they made enquiry, they found that Dheerjee was safe, upon which Kunukajee was very glad, and went home.

Now the prince, when he saw how sorrowful Dheerjee was, said to him, '*Do not you entertain the least sorrow, those that have died will not return again, but I will not allow you to be a loser in any respect. I will give you back your horses and servants.*' Dheerjee said '*He has taken away my honor, I must strike Teentoe.*' The prince then took an oath, '*I will not return to Ledur, until Teentoe shall have been struck.*' Then Dheerjee, taking the prince with him,

party, and three of Dheerjee's. Then the prince wrote to his father, saying that after three days time all attempts to take Wankaner had been unsuccessful and demanding that more men should be sent to him. The raja upon this sent a reinforcement of two hundred foot and fifty horse. At this time many persons said to Dheerjee 'The raja's heir has come here as a point of honour. Without striking Wankaner he will not go away. In the end you—a chief of three villages—will not be strong enough to continue the contest and you have deserved great applause that you have for three days resisted all attacks. Now therefore, you should retire.' Upon this Dheerjee made preparations for a feast in his mansion. He set swinging beds in order, placed bottles of liquor and sweetmeats for the guests, with a sum of money as an offering, and all these arrangements completed he retired. Then the prince plundered and burned the village, cut down the mowra and mango trees and filled up the wells. He remained there three days and returned to Cedur. Meanwhile Dheerjee with his family went to Doongurpoor. The Rawul of that place gave him a village which he made his residence and began to plunder and harass the Cedur country, doing a great deal of mischief. At length the raja, giving hostages for his safety, sent for him to Cedur and came to terms with him. He restored his village to him and the prince took him again into his personal service.¹

¹ Dheerjee makes the following statement in a letter to Major Miles dated 29th May 1821—

I received your letter and understood its contents. You write that you have heard of some irregular conduct on my part. This report is very true but no depredations have been committed by me in the territory of the English government and no one has been molested without cause. I have a note written by the Raja of Fedur which after having given me he has altered his mind. He has seized one of my villages and has been the cause of the death of my brethren without making me any recompense. He has also caused me the loss of ten horses for which he has not paid me. Whatever the Muharaj promised has proved wholly false. He has resumed my village notwithstanding I have borrowed and expended fourteen thousand rupees for his service of which sum he has not repaid me a farthing and he has instigated my enemies to murder me. If you wish to see the note written by the raja I will send it and you can read and return

A year afterwards the prince gave Dheerjee a sum of money, and sent him into Kateewar, telling him to purchase as many

'it, and if any blame be imputable to me, I will conform to your
'directions I molest none but my enemies and those upon whom
'I have claims The British government is great, but my claims on the
'Muharaj should be allowed, and all the villages of the Champawut
'puttahs seized by him should be restored, after which I have no de-
'mands, and shall then be ready to perform the service of the British
'Government I have many enemies in the Eedur district Send a man
'to me, and I will give him the paper before mentioned I shall wait
'four days for him Do not give credit to my enemies my quarrel
'is with the Eedur darbar,' &c. &c

Bharot Damodhur Mohobut Singh having been despatched by Colonel Ballantine to Dheerjee, returned to camp on the 30th September, 1821, and furnished the following information —

'Soon after my quitting this camp I was visited by Thakor Dheerjee, who, though he at first appeared satisfied in his own mind of the justice of his cause, eventually admitted his error, which was a first aggression against Eedur but now expressed a sense of contrition, and solicited my agency in effecting a compromise with Laljee Muharaj (Prince Oomed Singh) who had by this time advanced into the neighbourhood of Wankaner with a large force On a repetition of the Thakor's solicitation I was induced to comply with his request and he authorised me to make the following terms —

- '1st To restore all plundered property up to the present time
 - '2nd To pay a portion of the expense incurred in entertaining troops against Wankaner
 - '3rd That he would compromise by a gift of money or land, the death of a Brahmin that had taken place in one of his enterprises. And,
 - 'Lastly That he would attend the Muharaja's service
- 'On this I lost no time in repairing to Laljee Muharaj, and fully represented these circumstances soliciting at the same time his admission of the prayer at all events until the matter could be brought to the knowledge of the British government Laljee Muharaj at once declared that he would not, as Dheerjee had attacked his private village,—and only allowed me time to return and inform Dheerjee of his intention The village (Wankaner) was in due course attacked, and as Dheerjee on this occasion made no determined resistance, it was completely ransacked, and burnt to the ground'

'Laljee Muhārājā to Colonel Ballantine, 9th September, 1821

'Dheerjee for the last twelve months has committed the most serious excesses in our pergunnahs from Wankaner, whence he has continued to send forth banditti, having entertained a numerous body of mercenaries. Besides, he carried off a Baman hostage from the walls of Fedur Dheerjee, however, disregarded our remonstrances for four months, when it became necessary for us to entertain troops with

good horses as he could for the money. Dheerjee went to Wursorâ, near Mânsâ, where he spent the money in marrying a wife. He had one wife before this. After purchasing jewels and clothes for his bride, he had a small sum left, with which he purchased two horses, and, coming to Fedur, presented them to the prince. Oomed Singh asked where the rest of the money was gone to. Dheerjee answered, 'It was my master's money, and I spent it in my affairs; I did not go to steal from any other person's house.' The prince said nothing to this, but the raja pressed him saying 'Give up my money.' Dheerjee said, 'As to money I have none in my house, you may do what you please.' The raja then quartered horsemen upon him, upon which Dheerjee passed a deed assigning the village of Ghântee instead of the money. However he was very sore at heart upon the subject, and at length went out again in rebellion, taking his family with him. In the forest districts of the Mewar zillah there is a Bheel village, called Patheû Wulechâ. Dheerjee lived a year in that village making forays into the Fedur country. Once on a time, he carried away the cattle from the village of Bâmunwâ, which belonged to

'whom we attacked Wankaner, and Champawut Dheerjee has been dispossessed, flying for refuge to the Doongurpoor territories.'

'Dheerjee to Colonel Ballantine, 8th September, 1821

'I duly received your letter, which contains the misrepresentations of my enemies, but if it is your pleasure I will send to you the writing of the Muharaja to peruse, to show that my acts were at his instigation. In one instance I served him, and had eight or ten men and eight or ten horses killed and wounded. These circumstances I previously represented to Major Miles. The Muharaja, having deviated from the purport of the writing, led me to commit excesses in his pergunnahs. The Muharaja has since attacked and destroyed my village to which I made no opposition, and he has plundered it of property to the amount of fifty thousand rupees. For the truth of these assertions, you may apply to the Muharaja of Ahmednugger, and Major Miles can also acquaint you with many particulars. If you find me in fault you can hold me responsible in any way you please. In the first instance the Muharaja instigated me, and then left me to abide the consequences. I am now in the jungles. I have eight hundred men and one hundred horse, who are starving, and if nothing is done for me in the case of my village I must commit depredations on Fedur. Further, I am desirous of serving you with my men and horse as I will not again serve the Muharaja.

Teentoce. He had only twenty horsemen with him, but in a single day he would plunder as many villages as he had followers. However, when he came upon Bheels who plundered in the Cedur country, he would cut off their heads, and send them in baskets as an offering to the raja. Among the villages which he plundered, burnt, or took hostages from, were Wusāce, Bulolee, Bheelorā, and many others; in fact, with the exception of those which had been given to birds, there was scarcely a crown village which escaped his ravages.¹

At this time, the raja said one day in his court, 'It was I who gave this man power and promoted him, in return for which he despoils my villages. Why does he not go to some other state of Rājwārā and procure a holding for himself there?' This observation was conveyed to Dheerjee, who, thereupon, went to Rānā Shree Bheem Singh of Oodeipoor. Now Dheerjee had gained fame for himself in foreign parts on account of the valor he had displayed in his outlawry, and the Rānā was also acquainted with him from the time that that prince had visited Cedur to be married to the sister of Gumbheer Singh. The Rānā therefore drew out a deed for a valuable feudal holding, and gave it to Dheerjee. That chief accepted the grant, but would not receive the deed. He said, 'If I remain here it will be said of me that I could not recover my father's rights, and I shall lose my honor.' He remained at Oodeipoor four months, and then returned to the Cedur country, having placed his family at Koorāgām in Marwar.

At this time Colonel Ballantine sent for all the Cedur chiefs to Sādrā, in order to arrange for the settlement of the country. There was a very general discontent among the chiefs, and several of them refused to pay the raja's dues. Some of them offered their horses to be priced, and said that they had no money, but that they were the servants of the state, and their heads were the raja's. The Koomp'iwuts alone made a proper

¹ *Colonel Ballantine to Government, 22nd March, 1822*

'Dheerjee has gone out again in rebellion without assigning any cause. He is implicated in the commission of many atrocities of the most serious nature. He is reputed to have put to death or maimed fifteen or sixteen Brahmins of Bheelora, and to have committed other very serious aggressions.'

answer. After a month's consultation the British agent put the chiefs of Mondeytee, Teentoec, Thodurâ and Wankaner in irons, and forced others to give up part of their estates to the raja. Dheerjee, of Wankaner, had been called in on the security of a bard. He came, attended by thirty five armed followers, who were, however, dismissed by the raja, his nephew Udjee who was quite a youth, being alone left to attend upon him. When the government soldiers came to seize Dheerjee, Udjee slew some of them and wounded others and was then slain.

When the loss fell on his brother,
Fell upon Dheero,
Against their enemies wielding his sword,
Udo gained an Upsara bride
The Arabs he cut to pieces
The enemies beneath his feet he cast,
At one blow he cleft them in twain
At one blow, did Udo f

After he had been confined six months, Dheerjee broke his fetters, scaled the wall of the fort, and escaped. The chief of Mondeytee was detained four months, and then released, having given security, and made concessions to the raja. The chiefs of Teentoec and Thodurâ were similarly released about the same time.¹

¹ *Colonel Ballantine's Memorandum of Dheerjee's Proceedings*
30th October 1823

² Dheerjee's murder of Brahmans, and other crimes having been formerly fully communicated to government he was ordered to be fined and kept in constraint and his land to be made over to his nearest relative. Troops were sent to punish him but at this juncture he sent in Bharot Damodhur Mohobut Singh to make submission upon which Colonel Ballantine when he assembled the other Sardars at Dubhora to make an adjustment of securities for Gunkowar tribute &c sent also for Dheerjee and informed him that he might make known his complaints against Gumbheer Singh. Dheerjee asked for safe conduct which was as an indulgence procured for him from Gumbheer Singh. He came in, and received encouragement and money was advanced to him to live on and the settlement of the whole Champawut district obtained with great difficulty from Gumbheer Singh. Security was then demanded from him but Dheerjee under pretext of going to Dehgaum made off and on the road seized hostages at Wussye murdered a Borah of Ahmednugger harried the cattle of Bheelora and committed other outrages. He now seduced

While Dheerjee remained in confinement at Baroda, he had made a vow to Shāmlājēe that he would offer valuable offerings

‘Thakor Gopal Singh, then a boy residing in the Danta country, to join him, and Puharjee (of Thodura), and, soon after, the three combined wrote a letter, saying they would plunder the country. Dheerjee took to the mountains, whereupon a strict search was made after him; and Bhatēe Puharjee, Kunukajee, and other villains were taken, whereupon Dheerjee became apprehensive, and fled to Oodeipoor. There the Rana and his Sindars, being ignorant of the villainies Dheerjee had committed, used their mediation with the resident there (Sir David Ochterlony), and he, to gratify the Rana, addressed a letter to Colonel Ballantine in Dheerjee’s behalf, requesting him, for the sake of the Rana of Oodeipoor, to overlook Dheerjee’s offences, and to make such a settlement for the future in his favor with Gumbheer Singh as should be just and proper. Colonel Ballantine, thereupon, wrote to the resident, calling Dheerjee to Sadra. Dheerjee, in that gentleman’s presence (the resident’s) made arrangements to come in company with Gopal Singh, and took leave of the resident, bearing his letter, and accompanied by his attendants, and a respectable servant of the Rana’s, Pooroheet Laljee. Dheerjee had overawed Gopal Singh and forced from him the resignation of a share of his land. He left Gopal Singh at Oodeipoor, and, on the road, robbed his servant of his jewels, and wherever Gopal Singh had left money or clothes in deposit Dheerjee seized them by force. When he arrived at Sadra, he said he was empowered by Gopal Singh to act for him. He made submission to the political agent in the presence of Pooroheet Laljee, promising to recall Gopal Singh, and give security, and passing a bond to that effect. Kunukajee and Puharjee being securities. Dheerjee now received money for his subsistence, and was dismissed to return home. On arriving there, he petitioned for the removal of the government post there which was granted. However he did not send for Gopal Singh, and that chief, accidentally hearing that a settlement was in progress, hastened to Sadra, and made submission. Dheerjee was then summoned, and sent by his servant an answer, written from Ahmednugger, but dated Wankaner, and the servant, when asked where his master was, said “at Beejapoor. Colonel Ballantine then applied to his securities, and placed Mohsuls on them and him. Dheerjee having arrived at Sadra, was daily called upon by Colonel Ballantine for a settlement, but day after day passed without anything having been adjusted, and his securities having arrived, and declined further responsibility for him, Mohsuls were placed upon him. Dheerjee declared that unless these were removed he would commit suicide, and that no one could tell what might happen for his men were not under his control.”

‘1th November, 1823

‘Since the Mohsuls were placed upon Dheerjee, now ten days ago, his conduct has been insolent and threatening, declaring, that though

at that god's shrine if he should effect his escape. At length he escaped by climbing over the wall, and fled to the shrine, where he performed his vows. Thence he went secretly into Kāteewār, where he purchased horses, and having mounted troopers upon them, again entered the Eedur country, and resumed his system of annoyance. Colonel Ballantine at this time set posts from village to village, but Dheerjee fell upon them at night time, and slew many of the soldiers. On one occasion, when he had seized hostages at a village he was pursued by the government troops and the Eedur horse. A deep and broad ravine came in the way, over which Dheerjee, without hesitation, leapt his mare. Then, turning round to his pursuers, he cried, 'Follow now whoever of you dares leap the ravine'. No one followed.

After this Lāljee, the son of the chief of Teentoe, joined Dheerjee, and the outlaws retired together to the forests of Doongurpoor, where they received shelter, and from that retreat continued to ravage the territories of Eedur.

'he wished, himself, to give the securities required, he could not answer for the conduct of his armed mercenaries, with whom he has continued to parade camp in direct violation of his word As might have been expected, Dheerjee contumaciously and determinedly opposed my measures for the reduction of his armed followers, and in the affray that in consequence took place, he received a wound in the back from one of his own people attempting to cut down an Arab In the affray, also, one Arab was wounded, and two of his people, one severely, who has since died'

*Despatch from the Bombay government to the Court of Directors,
1st September, 1826*

'The three Thakors (Dheerjee, Kunukajee, and Puharjee) were subsequently removed to Baroda, as it was not considered safe that they should remain in the Myhee Kanta, it being explained to the raja (of Eedur) that their removal to Baroda did not, in any way, affect the allegiance they owed him An arrangement was also made for the management of their estates by their nearest relations, and a separate provision for themselves and their families, who were not to accompany them to Baroda On the 24th September, 1824, Dheerjee effected his escape from Baroda, assisted by Lāljee, the son of the Teentoe chief (who remained in confinement), and began committing excesses in the Myhee Kanta, which led to the despatch of a light force from Deesa in pursuit of him.'

Now at this period the Rawul of Doongurpoor was thirty-two years old, but he had taken it into his head that he would have no son, and that it was necessary for him to adopt one. He therefore sent for Dulput Singh, the heir of Dewulya who was of the same descent with himself, and passed a deed appointing him his own heir. This young chief was not favorable to the outlaws, and they, perceiving the fact, lost confidence in their present situation, and removed their families to the neighbourhood of Shamlajee. However they continued themselves to reside in the Doongurpoor country and to plunder Ledurwara. Upon this the young chief secretly offered to reward any one who would give him a sight of the outlaws. Once on a time, Dheerjee and Laljee came to a village in the Rawul's country, Dheerjee being in distress and suffering from inflammation of the eyes. They procured a person to get ready dinner for them there. The heir of Doongurpoor, becoming aware of their arrival set off with a hundred horse, who when they reached the village, began to beat the royal drum. Dheerjee and Laljee, hearing the sound mounted their horses and fled, the Doongurpoor horse pursued them, and came in sight of them. They cried to the outlaws 'What is this are you Rajpoots and do you run away?' Dheerjee said 'You are many, and we are but two, at this time it is necessary to fly,' his companion, however, began to slacken the speed of his horse, and meanwhile the Doongurpoor men came up with him. Laljee's horse now pulled up and would not move a step. An Arab struck the horse a blow on the back with his sword receiving at the same moment a blow from Laljee's sword. Another horseman thrust at Laljee with his lance, but he avoided the blow and ran the assailant through so that he died. As his horse would not move he now dismounted, and, after killing two more of his assailants was himself slain. Dheerjee, meanwhile, had galloped off supposing that Laljee was following him.¹

¹ A force under Major Thomas advanced to Doongurpoor in pursuit of the outlaws and carried the fort on the 11th March 1830. Laljee was killed by the young chief of Doongurpoor in the month of June following a deed at which his adopted father was much incensed — *English Records*

Afterwards, whenever it was known that Dheerjee had procured refreshment at any one's house, fifty of the government horse would immediately put up there, and annoy the inhabitants very much. Once Dheerjee came to a village of his own, which was near to a bard's village, upon which the raja, suspecting the bard, quartered two horsemen upon him. Dheerjee, when he heard this, went suddenly to the village, and attacked the horsemen, of whom one was slain by him, but the other escaped. The bard immediately began to employ means of intimidation against the outlaw chief, he wounded his own arm and his thigh, and thrust a dagger through the throat of an old woman of his family. When the raja heard of the attack upon the horsemen he declared that it must have been instigated by the bard, and therefore ordered a force against his village, but on further enquiry the true state of the case was discovered.

Dheerjee now carefully avoided entering even the lands of one of his friend's villages, indeed of avowed friends he possessed not one. He fixed his residence in the Mewar hills, but continued his harassing incursions, which he carried as far as Puttun, attacking the government troops, and carrying off cattle and hostages from the villages. Afterwards, he directed his attacks against the country about Raetgurh. He continued in outlawry altogether about fourteen years. At length in the year A D 1827, while he was hiding among the Cedur hills, he had received a supply of gunpowder from his friends, and spread it out upon a cloth to dry, when a spark falling from the match lock of one of his mercenaries, the powder exploded, and he thus received injuries of which he died. At the time of his death he was about forty five years of age. Dheerjee was short in stature and spare in person. His deeds of outlawry have won him greater fame than has been gained by any chief of Cedur, and his exploits are celebrated throughout the Myhee Kanta in the songs of the women as well as in the stanzas of the bard.

At the time of Dheerjee's death his family were in the Marwar country. One of his two wives (who was of the Chowra clan) on receiving from his servant the turban which he had worn, burned herself on the funeral pile with that relic of her

husband. She left no child. The other widow, with an infant son and daughter, returned to Wankaner.¹

¹ All attempts on the part of the British authorities to apprehend the outlawed chief had proved fruitless, a fact which the government of Bombay mainly attributed to the almost general connivance of the chiefs in the Myhee kanta in his depredations. The resident at Baroda was therefore directed to offer terms to Dheerjee, and to promise that his grievances should be investigated, and those which proved reasonable redressed. Mr Willoughby, who was then in charge of the residency, opened a communication accordingly with the outlaw, but while it was in progress, news arrived of the death of Dheerjee, which was reported by that gentleman on the 6th August, 1827. The chief of Wankaner survived the accident which led to his death six days, and on finding his end approaching directed one of his Rajpoot followers to communicate the facts to Mr Willoughby, and request that care might be taken of his family.

CHAPTER XIII

MUHARAJA GUMBHEER SINGH OF ELDUR

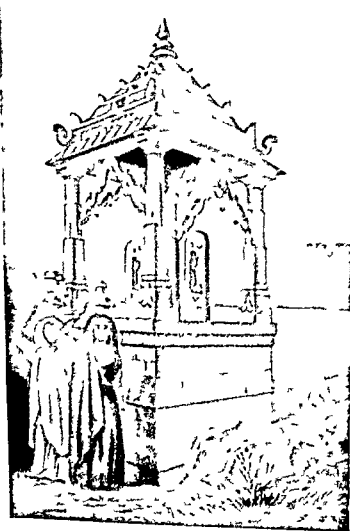
PRINCE OOMLO SINGH died of small pox in A D 1821, at the age of twenty seven. Two of his wives followed him to the pile, they were daughters of the Chohan chief of Dhuroi, and the Chowra of Mansa. A concubine also became a satee. The prince had two other Ranees, upon whom the desire of accompanying their lord to Paradise did not come. They were daughters of the Rajas of Wanswara and Dewulya, and retired as widows to their fathers' houses.

The giver of gifts to bards of funds of elephants, of horses
Was Gumbheer's son, whose mind was filled with wisdom
Desiring him the Chohance and the Chowree
Went to obtain the royal seat of the lord of the Deva
A thorn to his enemies the conqueror of the Mahrattas
Who extinguished his flame like foes by the strength of his arm,
Whose face was resplendent as the day bringing sun
Such was Lal, with whom to Paradise went the satees
Huree¹ worked an evil work in the world,
The hope of the bards had not been fully satisfied
The crown among Ranees the Rathor took with him
They became Upsuras¹ Oomed became Indra!

The horse hair fans were waving of the Chohanee's lord
He who was the wealth of bards. To attain to fame
The heir of Jodha's race passed with his Ranees
To Indra's mansion—did the Sun of the Hindoos¹
As long as sun and moon remain the descendant of Guj Singh
Shall enjoy the great throne. So is it fit
Indra's seat enjoyed to the full in bright form
To Vishnoo's eternal heaven he shall pass

A Brahmin of Eedur was so deeply distressed when he heard of the prince's death, from thinking of what would become of the state that he dashed his head against a grain jar, and dislodged a heavy weight lying on it, which fell upon him, and killed him. The raja granted to his son the village

¹ Vishnoo



RAJPOOT FUNERAL MONUMENT BESIDE
A RESERVOIR

of Matasool, which he had taken from the Koonipwuts, and which still remains in the Brahmin's possession¹

After this, in A.D. 1820, Gopal Singh, the chief of Mhow, went out in rebellion, because the raja had struck the villages of his estate. He retired with about twenty horsemen he had with him to his village of Cheetror. A trader of that place had died, and one of the merchants of Ledur, with his wife and family, had come hither to his funeral feast. They remained four nights, and then, taking leave of the chief, set out home, forming, altogether, a party of a hundred persons. The Cheetror traders escorted them for a certain distance, and then turned back, but Gopal Singh followed the strangers with his men, and, seizing the whole of them, carried them off to the hills. When the news was brought to Ledur, the merchants of the town set off in a body, with loud cries, to the palace. The raja, peeping out of an upper window, said, 'What is it?' The merchants answered, 'Our people went to a feast, and have all been seized and carried off from the place by Gopal Singh. What is it that you, our master, have done? If there were any master over our heads, could such a thing happen?' Then the raja said, 'Your master sleeps beside the Rumulesur tank.² What master have you? I am an old man.' However, he collected his forces, and made an expedition as far as Mhow and Cheetror from whence he returned without success. The traders now began again to raise a howling and to complain of the calamities they suffered, for it was suspected that Gopal Singh had violated the honor of the women who were his prisoners. The raja then took the turban from his head, and tied a cloth round it and said—'When I recover your hostages, I will reassume my turban.' However, mentally he vowed that it should not be until Gopal Singh was slain. Now, that chief released the traders on receiving ransom for them, and himself

¹ Colonel Ballantyne reports on the 17th May, 1824 'the death of the only son of the Raja of Ledur' and on the 27th, writes in continuation, that 'three females the wives of Laljee Sahab, accompanied the body as suttees to the pile and were burned.' (Umbeher Singh is suffering from the deepest affliction.)

² Alluding to Prince Omed Singh whose funeral pyre was erected by the side of that reservoir.

living in the Mhow hills with his family, made incursions upon the Ledor country. At length the raja, having assembled an army, encamped at Bhuvnāth, near Mhow, and sent for Dimodhūr Mohobut Singh the bard, whom he offered as security to Gopal Singh. The chief of Mhow came in, and was most warmly received by the raja, who, after they had drunk opium together, said, 'You are my son, who is there of mine equal to you? when I see you I rejoice as if it were Oomed Singh that I beheld.' Having talked to him in this way, he replaced him in Mhow. However after this, the raja continually said 'I have no relish for my food, unless I behold Gopal Singh.' Thus saying he sent for him to Ledor.

In A D 1830 the raja set out with his retinue to travel through his country, at which time it was that he seized upon Bud Singh, the chief of Kherod in the Poseena district, and threw him into irons. It happened thus—

The chief of Hurād Poseenā died in A D 1828 leaving a son, named Purwut Singh, who had attained the age of eighteen, but was an effeminate youth. His two nearest relations were Jamut Singh and Bud Singh. The former wished to place the rightful heir upon the cushion, but the object of the latter was to seat himself there. However, as he found no means of effecting this object, Bud Singh came to Ledor, and said to the raja, 'If you will place me on the cushion of Poseenā, I will pass a deed resigning a fourth of the estate to you.' The raja agreed to this offer. The matter, however, came to the knowledge of the young chief and Jamut Singh, and they also went to the raja and said 'It is not customary to place a distant relation on the cushion, when there is a son existing.' The raja said 'He promises to pass a fourth share to me therefore it is him that I will seat.' They saw there was no other remedy so they also said they would pass a fourth share. Gumbheer Singh however, said, 'A fourth share is what he offers me. What more than this do you offer that I should seat you on the cushion?' At length after much discussion the young chief passed a deed resigning a third share of the estate and Jamut Singh set off to Poseena at the raja's order, to place him on the cushion. Bud Singh however, when he was gone, offered to

resign a six anna share,¹ upon which the order was sent, 'Return hither without placing the chief's son on the cushion.' Jamut Singh returned. Then the raja said, 'Bud Singh offers six annas, therefore Budjee has the cushion.' The contest went on in this way for two months, and at last, the young chief resigned half the estate. Then the raja sent the Prince of Soor with fifty matchlocks and fifty horse, an elephant, royal drums, and silver rod, to seat the chief's son on the cushion, and at the same time to receive charge of the half-share that had been passed to him. The prince went accordingly, and placed Purwut Singh on the cushion. Bud Singh, upon this, went to his own house at Kherod to live there, and began to injure the villages of the Poseenâ estate, upon which the new chief complained at Ledur. The raja sent for Bud Singh to Ledur, but he did not obey the summons, being afraid that he would be put to death. Hostages were then given him, and he came, but was still distrustful of the raja. At this time, a minister of the Seerohee state happened to be at Ledur on some business. Bud Singh went and lodged with him. The raja sent for him to the court and reprimanded him on this account, but Bud Singh paid no heed. The raja then determined upon seizing him, but deferred doing so lest the Seerohee minister might oppose him. Bud Singh was, therefore, lectured and dismissed, and, going home, set to work exactly as before to do all the harm he could to the Poseena estate. The raja again sent for him, giving him security, but the chief declined visiting Ledur again. How-

¹ With Hindoos everything is divided into annas, or sixteenths of a rupee. In Wales a similar custom still prevails. The registrar of the Bristol District Court of Bankruptcy was sitting in November, 1855, at New Quay, Cardiganshire taking the examination of several witnesses in the matter of the bankruptcy of Thomas Davies, shipbuilder of that port. Most of the witnesses were Welsh people, and the subject of the inquiry being the extent of the bankrupt's interest in a certain vessel, some surprise was created by the witnesses speaking of their shares in the vessel as a matter of weight. The mystery was solved by the interpreter, in this way—A vessel about to be built, is divided into sixty four shares, the total being taken by the owners to represent a pound avoirdupois. Thus, the owner of four sixty fourths, is said to have an ounce, of two sixty fourths, half an ounce, of one sixty fourth, a quarter of an ounce, and so on in proportion.

ever, Gumbheer Singh corrupted the chief's two ministers (a Brahmin and a bard), by promising to give them each a village, if they would persuade their master to revisit the court. Bud Singh was thus enticed to Ledur, where the raja received him with the greatest respect, and caused him to be brought into the presence, overcoming his first suspicions by continued attentions. Meanwhile, a Sindhi officer, named Meroo, was directed to seize him, which task he accordingly effected while Bud Singh was on the way from his lodgings to the court. Meroo carried the chief to his quarters, and there put him in irons.

Now, when the raja set off on his tour in A D 1830, Bud Singh was carried with him as a prisoner, but two months afterwards, on some change of policy, he was allowed to furnish security, and was then released, his lands of Kherod being restored to him, to be held free of all claims on the part of the crown, and satisfaction being otherwise afforded him. However, Bud Singh, when he reached home, sent for the two ministers, and having put them off their guard by kind usage, he first cut off the Brahmin's head, which he threw to the dogs that they might crunch it, and then attempted to destroy the bard also. This latter, however, made his escape.

The raja left Eedur with his cavalcade, attended by Kurun Singh, the prince of Ahmednugger, Gopāl Singh, chief of Mhow, and the whole of the nobles. At this time the two chiefs above mentioned, with Jhalum Singh, of Mondeytec, came to a private decision that the force should move upon Palya with the chief of which place they were at feud, the raja and his minister, Durjun Singh, had on the other hand, planned an expedition against the Rehwurs. On Gumbheer Singh's announcing his intentions, the three chiefs pretended acquiescence, and remained in person with the raja but sent their cavalry contingents on in advance, and struck Palya before the raja's arrival, burning all the dwellings in the town. Mohobut Singh the chief of that place, took to the hills, and this chief indeed was not the man to take to flight but it was because he supposed himself to be attacked by his master's troops that he fled. When the raja came up, and

found the town a heap of smouldering ruins, he rebuked the three chiefs very earnestly. The camp was then pitched in the lands of Pālya. Mohobut Singh, its chief, however, lost no time, but raising a large force of Bheels, blocked up the road by which the army was to retire. Meanwhile the army remained in its position, subsisting upon the spoils of the town of Pālya. Durjun Singh's troops committed no act of hostility; but the three confederated chiefs plundered and burnt even the outlying villages, much to the annoyance of Gumbheer Singh. At this time news arrived that a string of camels laden with property, belonging to a banker who was with the army, had been plundered by the Bheels on its way from Cedur, and that the wild robbers had wounded both the camel-men and their animals. At the same time came a message from Mohobut Singh, of Pālya, who protested that the raja had struck his village without any just pretence, for that his revenue had been regularly paid, and threatened that he would make it a difficult matter for the army to get home again. Upon this the raja sent to say that he had no intention of striking Pālya, and that the result had been brought about by the three chiefs. Mohobut Singh rejoined, 'I could have given them an answer; but why was it that your highness took the pains to accompany them?' The raja then sent for him to an interview, but the chief refused to attend, and Gumbheer Singh was at length compelled to agree that when Pālya should be rebuilt no revenue should be demanded from the chief for two years. Upon this the raja struck his camp, and the event having displeased him, he proceeded no further with his tour, but returned to Cedur, and disbanded his army.

The raja, however, retained Gopāl Singh near him. Now there was a deadly feud between Gopāl Singh and Durjun Singh, the Prudhān. The raja said, therefore, to the former, 'It is my intention to make you minister of Cedur; and, what is more, if you can keep a secret I have one for your ear.' Gopāl Singh promised secrecy, and the raja whispered, 'I want Durjun Singh put out of the way.' Gopāl Singh said, 'Is it truth that you are speaking, or do you merely ridicule me?' 'It is nothing but truth,' said the raja. 'Then

'give me your oath' The oath was given Gopal Singh now asked permission to go home to Mhow, and not only received it, but was also loaded with presents He went accordingly, and on his return to Eedur, the raja received him affectionately, and made him a present of the sword and shield which had been worn by the late Prince Oomed Singh Many people however who observed all that was going on warned Gopal Singh that the raja would some day play him false 'Recollect' said they 'how Bhowanee Singh deceived Soorujmul of Chandunee to his death and how he treacherously slew the young chief of Merâsun It is the very rule of their house to do such things as these' Gopal Singh however paid no attention to these warnings Even when his own father in law Puharjee of Todhura entreated him to beware he refused to believe and said 'It was with such bugbears as these that Kunukajee and Dheerjee were kept at a distance from the court You want me to believe them that you may keep me away, too'

After this Gopal Singh's mother having died he procured with much entreaty from the raja leave to visit Mhow in order to perform her obsequies At home too many people said to him 'Do not go back to Eedur but he paid no attention to the advice of any one His step mother and his wife then arranged so that when he prepared to go to Eedur he was met outside the village by a string of women carrying black and broken water vessels and by other ill omens Nevertheless the chief went his way to Eedur

Many days after this, in the year A D 1831 the raja having first administered a solemn oath of secrecy to the kushatees who were in his service said to them 'You must put Gopal Singh to death this day' Not one of them would however, agree to undertake the task The raja then sent for Meroo the Sindhi and having sworn him to secrecy in the same way procured his consent to the deed The day before the raja had said to Gopal Singh 'To-morrow is the feast of Shri-ratree, so you must come early in the morning and then we will manage what we have settled about killing Durjun Singh' In the morning therefore Gopal Singh got up bathed took his breakfast and having made himself ready,

went to the foot of the palace stairs, and sent word to the raja that he was arrived. The door keeper, then, according to the usual custom, received from him his arms. Now Meron and his soldiers with their matchlocks loaded, were ready to kill Gopal Singh, and whatever men of good character, or whatever friends of the chief's party were about the court, had been sent away, on one pretence or another, into distant parts of the country. Gopal Singh having arrived at the palace the raja sent for him into the apartments of the elder Rānee,¹ where he was seated in state, having caused carpets and cushions to be spread. When dinner time came, and a dish was brought in for the raja he said to the chief, 'Do you, too sit down and dine with me.' Gopal Singh excused himself, but with much urgency was prevailed upon to sit down. After dinner the raja presented betel nut to him. At this time his father in law drew him on one side and said to him 'I fear much that it is designed to put you to death this very day. Remember I have married to you my daughter, who is now only fourteen years old and for her sake I implore you to take means for saving your life.' Gopal Singh only made answer 'You are entertaining a groundless suspicion.' Then the father in law pretending that he went to smoke a hookah got away with great difficulty to his lodging and mounting his horse galloped off for his life. The Sindhi officer thereupon increased his precautions and rendered it impossible for any one else to make his escape.

At this time the raja gave orders to a servant to bring him a bottle of perfume. When it was brought he said it was not the one he wanted. This was repeated several times and at last the raja rose under pretence of procuring for himself the scent he required and went out. The door was immediately locked behind him and he whispered to the Sindhi 'Now if he escape your head must answer for his.' The reply was a volley fired into the room where the chief was from the windows on each of the four sides. Gopal Singh had twelve attendants with him who threw themselves before their chief

¹ Her name was Dolat Koonwerba and she was the daughter of the Bhatee chief of Oshwa in Marwar a calet of Jessmer. She perished as a satee upon the death of her husband.

but as the bullets poured in they fell dead one after the other, and he himself received many wounds. The raja then showed himself and said, 'Ah! Gopāl, tell me was it right of you to carry off the Tedur traders? now show us what strength you can put forth, see here are two swords for you to wear take them!' So saying he threw two swords into the room. Now, Gopāl Singh cried out with a loud voice to the Rancee and said 'I am in your palace under your protection.' The Rancee upon this went to the raja and said

If you slay Gopāl Singh after what has happened I will die along with him' The raja said 'If I leave him alive now he will slay me.' 'Let precautions be taken' replied she, 'of whatever strictness you please, but his life must be spared.' All the night and next day Gopāl Singh was allowed to remain where he was.

When night came round again he determined he would make an attempt to clamber over the palace wall and escape. With this intention he went out and was immediately cut down by the sentinel on guard, and died. After this outcastes were sent for and the corpses were by their means dragged into the yard of the palace. The raja ordered the outcastes to cut the bodies into pieces that the kites might eat them. When the principal merchants of the place heard of this intention they came to the palace and said 'Mihirāj! you have punished those who had offended you have no longer any quarrel with these lumps of earth allow them to be burned.' The corpses were upon this placed together in a cart, and removed to the funeral ground where they were consumed by fire and after this the inhabitants of the palace broke their fast for since Gopāl Singh had entered it no one had tasted a mouthful of food. The chief of Mhow left two sons Bhurūt Singh and Pirwūt Singh, of whom the elder was, at the time of his father's death only seven years old. The followers of the slain chief with his children and the other members of his family fled to the mountains on hearing of the catastrophe at Tedur. Then the raja marched towards Mhow and having encamped near it sent to call in the children of Gopāl Singh and replaced them in their inheritance.

NOTE —We have not met with, in the English records, any mention of the fate of Gopal Singh, of Mhow. There had been no resident political agent in the Mhow Kanta, since the withdrawal of Lieutenant Colonel Ballantine, and under these circumstances, a deed of this nature was only too likely to have been concealed from, or misrepresented to, the British authorities. All that is upon the records in relation to Raja Gumbheer Singh tends to strengthen the belief that such a crime, upon his part, was by no means unlikely. The treachery of his disposition is still notorious in the Egdur country, and is indicated by many other actions recorded by the bards. In A. D. 1821, Major Miles thus wrote of Raja Gumbheer Singh — ‘The character of the present Raja of Egdur is represented by the natives to be a mixture of craft, inconstancy, and deceit. He is reputed to be quite indifferent to persons’ merits and means, provided he can obtain his object. His want of faith is proverbial and there is scarce a man in the Egdur territory I am told, who would take his oath as the most trifling security for the performance of his promise or engagement. In the management of his revenue he is said to be profuse and improvident, he, however, uses every means in his power to cheat his creditors and soldiery. He is completely in the hands of the Brahmans and Goswams, who advance money at enormous rates of interest and absorb his revenues by anticipation. This bad character is, doubtless, justified in some particulars but seems exaggerated in others. The raja appears a man of abilities with a peculiar turn for intrigue and artifice. His knowledge of war and his made him superior to most of his ministers and connections, and as they frequently find themselves no match for him in the management of politics they are more willing to cast the blame on his dissimulation than to allow any want of parts or foresight in themselves. Again, his character must be considered with reference to his situation and the persons by whom he is surrounded, and with whom he has to contend.’ Making every allowance however it must, we fear, be admitted that Raja Gumbheer Singh was a rare and consummate hypocrite, who exhibited in perfection, the mixture of craft and cruelty which, among Rajpoots,

is attributed as a distinguishing characteristic to the Rother race. With the Ghost of Shakspeare he, too, might have thus soliloquised—

Why I can smile, an I murder whilst I smile;¹
An I cry content to that which grieves my heart,
An I wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
An I frame my face to all occasions,²

¹ [3 *Henry I I*, iii. ii. 182-5.]

CHAPTER XIV

महाराज गुरुदेव सिंह के तख्त

JHALUM SINGH succeeded his father, Ude Singh, in the estate of Mondetty,¹ about the year A D 1801. The chief of Gotā, the brother of the late chief of Mondetty, dying, and leaving no son, Jhalum Singh purposed to assign the estate which thus fell to him to his son Oomed Singh, whose mother was a daughter of the Chowra chief of Wursora. As however, the estate was held under a separate grant from the crown, it was necessary that the raja should receive the young chief's obeisance on his installation. Jhalum Singh sent his minister accordingly to Tedur and the raja giving his assent to the scheme, intimated his readiness to proceed to Mondetty whenever a day should be appointed for the purpose of binding the turban of investiture upon Oomed Singh's head and granting to him the right of receiving the royal embrace. On the appointed day Prince Oomed Singh repaired, as his father's representative, to Mondetty. However the prince had been betrothed to the lady Golub Koonwerba the daughter of Jhalum Singh by his Rathor wife and sister of the whole blood to Soorajmul and Sher Singh. The mother of his affianced bride therefore prevailed upon him to invest his brother in law Sher Singh instead of the son of the Chowra lady, an act which was the seed of much future calamity, and produced a bitter enmity between Jhalum Singh and his Rathor wife and her sons, as well as between that chief and his sovereign.

Sher Singh took up his residence at Gotā. His village of Rutunpoor marched with the Walsun chief's village of Khiskee and both parties had posts of armed men in these places. In the rains a dispute arose between the cultivators of the two villages in regard to the boundary. They were separated for the time but both parties went to their masters

¹ [Mondetty was granted to Man Singh Chohan by the Maharaja Shiva Singh in 1741. Vide p. 132 *supra*.]

to complain. Each chief made the same reply,—‘If you had been men you would have fought it out.’ Next day, therefore, when the cultivators drove their ploughs to the disputed boundary, they took arms in their hands and a fight ensued. One man was killed on Sher Singh’s side, and others were wounded, on the other side there were many men wounded. When the chief of Gotā heard of the result, he went to his father at Mondeytee, and begged for assistance, adding that if he should not receive it he would go to Wul’sun, and maintain the fight to the death, though there was a numerous garrison in that place. Jhalum Singh upon this assembled his men and in person led them to Wul’sun and a contest ensued. The chief of Mondeytee sent to the Raja of Fedur, who offered to supply him with money and mercenaries and dismissed his messenger with the remark that if the Wul’sun chief were victorious the Marwaree honor would be gone, and he would some day make himself master of Mondeytee as well. The chief of Wul’sun sent also to beg for succour because half his estate belonged to the raja but Gumbheer Singh made him a reply similar to that which he had made to Jhalum Singh. In fact he would have been equally glad whichever way victory should be decided provided only that one party or the other were a loser. Now there lived at Wul’sun a female ascetic who wore male attire, and assumed the male name of Mandas. She was famous as a negotiator, and in that capacity she came to Fedur and stated in a boasting style in the raja’s presence that the men of Wul’sun had driven away the Marwarees in a manner much to the disgrace of the latter. Durjun Singh the Prudhān who was seated in court at the time, was much stung at this remark because his own son and his brother were with the chief of Mondeytee. He wrote to Jhalum Singh to say that he had better never show his face at Fedur again than come back without striking Wul’sun. He proffered at the same time a supply of money. The day before his letter reached Wul’sun a skirmish had taken place, but a neighbouring chief had come between the combatants. When the Prudhān’s letter arrived Jhalum Singh attacked the place in earnest, and plundered and burnt it, carrying off prisoners and cattle and leaving the chief of Khāskee dead.

on the field. There was an end of the matter for the time, and the Marwarces returned home. The power of the British has prevented the Wulasun people from balancing the feud since, but they say that whenever that power shall be withdrawn they will have their revenge upon Mondeytee.

In 1820 the last of a collateral line of the Chohan clan died, and his villages were claimed by Raja Gumbheer Singh, on the ground that as they had been granted separately from the estate of Mondeytee they should now revert to the crown. Jhalum Singh, however, refused his consent to this arrangement, and threatened to go out in rebellion. It was about this time that Colonel Ballantine was engaged in settling the Ledur country. Jhalum Singh was confined by him, and regained his liberty four months after on condition of resigning the disputed estate, making other concessions to the raja, and giving security for his good behaviour during the next ten years.¹

¹ The following occurs in a general report by Colonel Ballantine, dated 'Sadra, 15th October 1822' —

'The conduct of this chief (Jhalum Singh of Mondeytee) was brought to the notice of government in my report of 7th April last, and his defection proved. The chief has since compromised his differences with Ledur by fine, and has been restored, and has received his puttah afresh. Each puttawut has his zillayuts whose footing is the same as his own with the raja. They enjoy lands for service, and have of course, been included in these arrangements. In this puttah are four zillayuts but the lands of the zillayuts are also the gift of Eedur and therefore obtain a similar claim and footing (*sic orig*). It is thus accounted for — On the establishment of the present dynasty the ancestors of the present zillayuts were the followers, relations or partizans, of the raja's puttawuts and received from Ledur provision lands under virtually similar tenure. The puttawut cannot dispossess, but commands the services of, his zillayuts, and the only distinction is, they render separate securities to their immediate superiors who are thereby distinctly responsible for them. This chief is allied to Gumbheer Singh. His daughter is married to Oomed Singh the heir apparent, but the connection seems rather to have produced discord than union. Jhalum Singh is himself married to the daughter of the Iow of Lol and has by her a son, his heir Soorujmul. The son and mother have been long at variance with him. For some time they took refuge at Ledur and Gumbheer Singh appears to have interested himself to obtain Soorujmul and his mother a subsistence with no avail. Jhalum Singh resented this, and was actually going into rebellion

In A. D. 1826, the chief of Gorul died, leaving only a daughter, named Chānd, who was married to the Raja Gumbheer Singh. The raja proclaimed that his father-in-law had given him the village as the dowry of his bride, and that he intended to place a garrison there, and either annex the estate to the crown, or give it to the rānce for her pin-money. The chief's widow was disposed to acquiesce in this arrangement, as the raja promised her an income from the estate. However, Jhālum Singh, of Mondeytee, asserted that he was the adopted son of the deceased, and so saying, he shaved his moustache, and proceeded to perform the obsequies which the raja had been desirous of performing. Gumbheer Singh was afraid of driving him out into rebellion, and determined therefore to humour him for the present, and wait for an opportunity. Thus the Gorul estate fell to Mondeytee. A year afterwards, Jhālum Singh said to his eldest son, Soorajmul, 'It was my original intention to have given the estate of Gola to Oomed Singh, but your mother caused that to be given to your brother, Sher Singh. I will, therefore, give this estate of Gorul to Oomed Singh.' Soorajmul did not agree to this, and Jhālum Singh, on his refusal, flew into a passion, and went off immediately to the court of Mān Singh, Raja of Jodhpoor, where he remained six months.¹ However, he was not successful in obtaining service there, and he found his own expenses,

'at the time I summoned him. The son has since gone into service at Deerohee, and the mother has returned to Pol.'

¹ On the 24th of December, 1826, Colonel Ballantine thus writes to the resident at Baroda:—

'I have, also, on this occasion, been requested by Gumbheer Singh and Koonwer Soorajmul, of Mondeytee, to bring to the notice of government, that Thakor Jhālum Singh has for some time past quitted Mondeytee, and is reported to have taken refuge with Raja Mān Singh, of Jodhpoor. The Thakor was also last year, for the most part, at Kotah, and has there taken service for his second son. The reason assigned for this is family disputes, and a wish on the part of the chief to disinherit Soorajmul, his eldest son and heir. Colonel Ballantine accordingly recommended that Soorajmul should be installed in the vacant estate. The resident, however, thought that it would be sufficient if the management were entrusted to Soorajmul on his father's behalf. This latter proposition was approved by the government of Bombay, and the arrangement was carried into effect in April, 1827, but annulled in the following June.

and those of Oomed Singh, who was with him, growing heavy, so he went from Jodhpoor to Kotah. At this latter place, he obtained service, and there he remained for a year. Jhalum Singh had hoped that when he went away Soorajmul would have followed him, and acquiesced in his wishes, but such was not the case. His son remained at Mondettye, and administered the affairs of the larger portion of the estate, three villages only being in the hands of Jhalum Singh's servants. At the end of the year, therefore, the chief returned to the Ledur country, and sent to tell Soorajmul that unless Gorul were given to Oomed Singh, he was determined to resign the whole estate into the hands of the rya. Soorajmul paid no attention to this threat, and his father at last began to entertain mercenaries. When Soorajmul received intelligence of this step he wrote to his father, to ask why he was assembling men, and to say that the estate of Mondettye might be given to any one he pleased, for that he himself had determined on retiring to Bhownugger, or elsewhere to procure service. The chief wrote in reply, offering to give his son two villages for the present, and assuring him of the succession to the whole estate on his own death but demanding that he should in the meantime retire from Mondettye. Soorajmul refused his consent, and went off in anger to Ahmednugger, where he assembled three hundred matchlock men, and such of his father's vassals as were on his side. In March 1829, he came at midnight with his troops to the neighbourhood of Nadree, where his father was and having given strict orders that not a gun should be fired prepared to surprise the village. However, the troops as soon as they approached the place fired a volley and the arrival of Soorajmul thus becoming known, he was opposed by his father's followers, while Jhalum Singh himself, conceiving the attacking party to be stronger than his own could engage with safety, retreated with his Chowra lady, and having placed her in security at a village in the Danta territory fled himself to the hills. Soorajmul now took possession of Nadree, and placed a garrison there. He then returned to Mondettye, and made it again his residence.

It being now five years since the death of Prince Oomed

Singh, the raja himself demanded in marriage the lady Goolab, Soorajmul's sister, who had been betrothed to his son. The chief of Mondeytec and his Rathor wife were neither of them pleased at this proposal as the raja was now an old man, but Soorajmul agreed to give his sister to Gumbheer Singh, on condition of receiving his support against his father. When Jhulum Singh was driven to the hills, it occurred to him that Soorajmul would seize the opportunity for marrying his sister to the raja. He wrote privately, therefore, to the lady's mother to send her to him that he might arrange her marriage with a suitable husband. The young lady was sent accordingly and her father caused her to be married to the chief of Sulima, a cadet of Rutlam.

Jhulum Singh had by this time collected six hundred Arab and Mukranee matchlock men with whom he soon after made a night attack upon Nadree. Kanjee the captain of Soorajmul's garrison however fought with great bravery, and repulsed the assailants.

Like an angry tiger came on the son of Udmal
 'But hāneeo like a black snake kept hold of Nadree

Jhulum Singh retired to a position among the hills where a thick forest sheltered his men, having in his retreat set fire to one of Soorajmul's villages. A few days afterwards he prepared to attack Mondeytec where his son himself lay with a small garrison. The young chief's spies however informed him of his father's advance and he wrote immediately to his agent at Cedur to call upon the raja for his promised assistance. Gumbheer Singh agreed to comply with the call and assembled troops. All that day however wore away, and next day the raja moved with his troops in a northerly direction intimating to the agent that it was his intention to interpose between Jhulum Singh and Mondeytec. That chief had however attacked the place on the preceding night. Soorajmul's men were protected by the buildings and under their fire thirty five of the assailants fell but six of his small garrison who defended a round tower which contained the ammunition were destroyed by its explosion. The young chief himself was wounded in the hand with a matchlock ball but he retained possession of the town. Next day, one of the neighbouring

chiefs came up, and some of the inhabitants of Mondeytee went out to Jhulum Singh, and persuaded him to come to an agreement with his son, for that his face would be blackened in case Soorajmul were killed, and it was thus at length arranged that Soorajmul should surrender Mondeytee, on condition that two villages were assigned to him during his father's lifetime, and that the succession was secured to him. The young chief, upon this, taking his mother with him, quitted Mondeytee for the villages which were assigned to him, and Jhulum Singh re-entered his town.

Soorajmul, however, for fear of his father, began at once to look out for a more secure place of retirement, but none of the chiefs would receive him. He retired to Koowawoo, where there is a mansion, enclosed within a fortified wall. The village belonged to bards, who were not pleased at the presence of such a visitor. Soorajmul pacified them by saying that it was not his intention to remain a longer time than should suffice for his recovery from his wound. However, at this time, the raja happened to come into the neighbourhood, and the bards went to him, and obtained his written permission to their allowing Soorajmul to remain. The chief stayed, therefore, at the bards' village for a considerable period, and at length, leaving his family there, went to Ahmednuggur, and took service with Raja Kurun Singh, who gave him a village and a pair of kettle-drums.

In the year A. D. 1833, Raja Gumbheer Singh became a Dev. Fourteen Ranees became sutecs with his corpse, but the mother of the present raja, Jowan Singh, remained alive to rear her infant son.

Many stars fell to the earth,
The earth quaked,
Cows lowed in the night time,
Terribly sounded their cry
Indra poured down little rain,
Had fell from the sky,
Clouds obscured the face of the sun,
Gusts of wind blew
From these omens they prophesied
That a great man would fall
Then died the raja of the race of the sun !¹

¹ The earthquakes and the fall of meteors here mentioned were actual

When the dwellers in the queen's apartments heard the news,
The sutes, with delight, cried Hur! Hur!¹
'For the salvation of my race,
'To increase the splendour of the three lines of ancestors,
'I will accompany my lord,
'That my fame may be blazoned in the nine divisions of the world'
Such a determination in their hearts fixing,
They called the 'Great Splendour' to witness,
'If I remain behind my husband,
'Where is my queenly virtue?'

From love of their husband, the women,
Though many, were delighted in mind.
From love of their husband, the women
In their hearts allowed hope to expand
From love of their husband, the women
Prepared a last procession
From love of their husband, the women
Caused drums to be sounded and songs to be sung
True wives of the son of Bhuwan, then raised they the cry,
The bright road let us travel,
'With her husband who refuses to burn,
'Where is her love to her lord?'

At this time, so many
With earnestness spoke the speech,
Making the true wife's vow
To bathe in the bath of fire —
First, Dolut, the princess,
The Bhatee's daughter, splendid as Doorja,
Princess Jushoo, the Chohan
She whom the people called Mother,
Of great truth, the Seesode's daughter
Princess Lyub, an increasing moon,
When the sutes joined the mighty raja
Their fame cast light around them
Princess Lal, the Uhuree
A sutee like Junuk's daughter,²
Wakhut princess the Chowra,
Like incarnate Gunga,

'destroyed the crops of every kind This scourge has reduced the
'people to despair, they cannot be induced to sow the seed for the
'after crops and the durbar it is believed, will not recover more than
'one fourth of its accustomed revenue

¹ A name of Shiva

² The sutee's virtues benefit the families of her father, her mother,
and her husband's father

³ Junuk's daughter is Secta, the wife of Ram

Chund, the Chohān lady,
 Who resembled Bhuwānoo,
 Like a vision of Parwutee,
 Princesses Wudun, the vow performer,
 Concubines both, Natheo and Wun,
 With joy and hope prepared for the pile,
With the lost lord, Gumbheer,
 The women set forth to burn

Oomeydl went with joy,
 For sut performing she presented herself;
 Jusoolbee the nurse's daughter,
 To burn her body prepared,
 An auspicious day perceiving it,
 To prove their virtue they went forth,
 A double line they formed,
 Each line touching their lord
 With words of courage they spoke,—

*This age of iron, frail as a creeping shrub, what is its value ?
 'To the city of sutees going, we will there remain,
 Our husband's service we will perform there.'*

With words of courage they spoke,
 At the time whose good deeds cannot be destroyed.¹
 Each of them went to her chamber,
 To bathe in the Ganges water
 Each of them dressed in handsome clothes
 Each of them assumed her jewels,
 Necklaces of pearls
Each with joy put on.
 In great splendour at that time,
 Knowing it to be a deed of religion,
 With the royal son of Bhuwān,
 The sutees set forth to burn.

*In the year called ninety,
 In the nineteenth century from Vikram's time,
 In the time of rain, rain not having fallen,
 When the sun had finished half his course,
 In the month of Shrawan, when the moon was dark
 On the moon's day, on the eleventh of the month,
 Five hours after sun rise
 Departed the soul of Gumbheer
 That whole day and night the corpse lay in the queen's apartments
 That the sutees might be ready to accompany it
 When the night departed
 In the morning they set forth to the pile*

¹ At the time of death, that is, when good deeds cannot be cancelled by any future ill deed.

Sounded many noises
 The copper drums sounded ;
 The smaller drums also ;
 Though the task was mournful, it was joyfully accomplished ,
 It seemed as if a raja with his rānees set forth on a pilgrimage
 Gumbheer Singh and the queens,
 With smiles on their faces,
 Seemed the moon sinking to its setting
 Midst a company of stars
 At each step they gained fame ,
 At each step they performed a ' horse sacrifice ' ,
 Virtuous gifts they gave as they went ;
 Abandoning the love of home,
 Thinking only of their lord,
 Regarding their bodies as blades of grass
 What bardic honor shall I give these sutes ?
 Call other women ' *tender*, ' if you will ,
 These are *hardy*, ' strong as warriors.

At the last place
 The sutes arrived,
 They worshipped the sun,
 They uttered these words,—
 ' O, Day causer ! O, Dev !
 ' That aidest always the satee,
 ' In this good Eedur,
 ' May I be married in another birth,
 ' May my husband always be the son of Bhuwān ! '
 Thus saying, they made obeisance to the sun,
 Remembering their husbands in their hearts
 Turning back they moved haughtily
 Towards the funeral pile

Praise to the Bhatce race,
 Whose fame is in the earth !
 Praise to the Seesodee clan !
 Praise to the clan Chohan !
 Praise to the clan Chowra !
 Whose daughters with their husband departing,
 In fire consume their bodies
 Praise to the prince who married you !
 Wives such as you are ships that bear your husband across the
 ocean of existence

¹ The opposition in the original is between *Ubul* and *Subul*, two words compounded of the word *bul*, strength, with the affixes, *U* and *Su*, of negation and affirmation. *Ubul* is, however, commonly used to mean ' a woman '.

The fame of your race you have increased,
 Great joy you have caused to spring up,
 As you repeated the name of Vishnoo,
 Good men who heard your words
 Took vows to abandon the world,
 Cowards began to tremble with shame,
 Kshutrees felt their courage inflamed,
 The fame of the Rathor was established
 A great deed of virtue you exhibited to the world,
 With your lord abandoning the body '1

' The following account of the circumstances which attended and followed the death of Raja Gumbheer Singh is derived from a despatch of the Bombay government to the Court of Directors, dated 8th October, 1833 —

' We have the honor to communicate to your honorable Court the death of Gumbheer Singh, the Raja of Eedur, which took place on the 12th August last, on which occasion the political commissioner for Goozerat deputed his first assistant, Mr Erskine, to Eedur, with a view to prevent any disturbances arising in consequence of this event, and at the same time to signify to the several chiefs the desire of the British government to continue the succession in the person of the only son of the late raja, and it is now our painful duty to report to your honourable Court the deplorable tragedy which occurred in the performance of the funeral rites of the deceased

' The death of the raja, who had been for several days in a state of stupor, was for some time concealed, and remained unknown to the mother of the young raja until after the funeral ceremony, but the other seven ranees or wives took the resolution of burning with their husband, and accordingly, early on the morning of the 13th August, these infatuated women, two concubines of different caste from the raja, one principal personal servant, and four domestic slave women were taken down with the corpse and burnt with it before the whole assembled population of Eedur, the ministers and every person of authority aiding in the horrid ceremony. Nor was any effort made by a single person connected with the raja's family, or having any influence at Eedur, to dissuade any of the parties from taking this fatal step. It is stated by Mr Erskine that one of the ranees was several months advanced in pregnancy, and another, who throughout showed a disinclination to the sacrifice, had never cohabited with the raja. The eldest in years, who was the second in rank, was aged sixty, and the youngest, to whom the raja had only been married nineteen months, was only twenty years of age. Notwithstanding the religious prejudices of the people, an universal feeling of horror and disgust is said to prevail against the principal actors in this atrocity, and it is the general belief that if proper means had been taken, there would not have been more than three lives sacrificed. It is related by an eye witness, that just before the lighting of the pile, the eldest ranees

'addressed the ministers, saying, that she herself had all along resolved upon immolating herself, and that no expostulations would have any effect upon her, but that it was strange that she had not heard a word of dissuasion or compassion expressed by any one, and she concluded by desiring them to go and live on the plunder they were securing to themselves by the destruction of their chief's whole family. The ministers were influenced by personal interest in sparing the life of the surviving rane, she being the mother of the raja's only son, and her loss might have been prejudicial to their views' [The following extract from the *Bombay Gazette*, vol. v, p. 408, completes the history of Idar —

'A few months before his death Gambhirsingh took advantage of Mr Erskine's being at Idar to make over his son to the care of the British Government. And a few years later (1837) the continued mismanagement of the Idar state and the helpless condition of the young prince induced the Rani to apply to the British Government to place the state under attachment. The condition of Idar was well nigh desperate. Dishonesty and mismanagement had reduced the revenue from £10 000 to £4 000. About one half of this had to be set apart to meet the Gaikwar's tribute and the rest hardly sufficed to pay the interest of a debt of £30 000. The militia long in arrears were clamorous for pay and the people plundered equally by the state and by outlaws were leaving in numbers. To this Government agreed and shortly after the Modasa and Bayad disputes were re-opened and referred by the Rani to Captain Outram. Meanwhile the death of the Maharaja of Jodhpur and the adoption of Takhtsingh of Ahmednagar, put a stop to any further proceedings, as the Idar House claimed as the head of the family the whole of the Ahmednagar possessions. This claim the Maharaja of Jodhpur attempted to set aside. But it was finally decided by the Government of India on the 14th April 1848 that Ahmednagar and its dependencies should revert to the elder or Idar branch, and that the two estates should as they had before 1784 form one state under the Raja of Idar. Gambhirsingh was succeeded by Javarsingh a prince whose intelligence and loyalty gained for him the honour of a seat on the Bombay Council and the Knighthood of the Order of the Star of India.

CHAPTER XV

SETTLEMENT OF THE MYHEE KANTA

IN the year A D 1828, the Raja Gumbheer Singh had struck the village of Keeree, which belonged to Futteh Singh the chief of Roopal. Futteh Singh laid a complaint before Major Miles the British agent at Pahlunpoor,¹ who then temporarily superintended the Myhee Kanta and that officer, after a time decreed that the raja should pay a sum of money for having plundered the village. The sum was much too large and hence it became a proverb in Eedur that 'the ant (Keeree) has become an elephant'. However the raja never to the day of his death paid the money and the chief of Roopal began to think of going out in rebellion or seizing some substantial hostage from Eedur in order to procure a ransom for him. Now Khemehund one of the Eedur ministers had a brother named Ukheehund who was a merchant, and about this time Ukheehund put up for a night at Roopal on his way home to Eedur from Pertingurh with a valuable investment of piece goods opium and other merchandise, under the protection of ten matchlock men. The chief of Roopal entertained the merchant very attentively and the next morning sent off the goods with the escort and pressed Ukheehund to remain to dinner promising to see him safe home to Eedur. After dinner he set off with the merchant attended by ten horsemen under pretence of an escort but when he reached a place convenient for his purpose he made his guest a prisoner and carried him off into the forest. The merchant offered to pay any sum that might be demanded as the price of his liberty but Futteh Singh said it was not money he wanted but a letter to the minister Khemehund to ensure the payment of the sum decreed in compensation for Keeree or at least an arrangement that nothing should be demanded in the way of tribute from

¹ Lieutenant Prescott and not Major Miles appears to have been the Superintendent of Pahlunpoor at the time of this award

Roop'il until that sum were absorbed. The merchant wrote, as he was required to do, to Khemchund, but that minister replied that he had no power in the matter, the Pedur state having been attached by the British government.¹ Upon this, the chief of Roop'il proceeded to give Ukhechund much annoyance; he kept him without food for days, beat him, put powder into his ear, and set it alight. The merchant now offered to pay double the sum in dispute out of his own means, but Puteh Singh said that would be no use, as he should not be allowed to keep the money. At length Khemchund sent for Soorajmul, of Mondeytee, and told him that he would give him a large sum of money, for which he passed a bond,

¹ 'After the death of Gumbheer Singh,' says the Bombay government, in their despatch to the Court of Directors of the 10th September, 1831, 'the powers of the state had been usurped by a person of disreputable character, named Chajooram, who was formerly employed under the late raja's eldest son, Oamed Singh, and succeeded in pillaging that young prince of a considerable property. He was afterwards employed by Gumbheer Singh, on the death of Laljee Sahib, as his Deewan, and was for some time nominally his prime minister. Gumbheer Singh, however, who latterly managed his own affairs, had for some time before his death entirely withdrawn all confidence in him, and though he nominally bore the name of Deewan till the raja's death, he was never employed or consulted by the raja on the affairs of state. Through the means of Peetojee, the Rancee's brother he found means to ingratiate himself with her, and being assisted by Jh'dum Singh, the chief of Mondeytee, who has long been associated with him in his evil practices, he carried on the whole of the business and continued the system of plunder which he commenced on the occasion of the sutees, reported in our letter, dated 8th October, 1833. He was the principal agent in that cruel sacrifice of human life and in consequence of his unfeeling conduct on that occasion and his oppression of the ryots in numerous instances, he had rendered himself almost universally detested throughout the Pedur districts. As it was evident that under this management both the property of the young prince, of which the British government is the guardian, would suffer most considerably, and the public revenue be so plundered that the government would find it difficult, if not impossible, to perform its engagement with H. H. the Guikowar, the Political Commissioner recommended, and we accordingly sanctioned, the appointment of a regency during the young raja's minority, consisting of the following persons, viz. The Rancee, Durjun Singh of Kookreea (the Pradhan), Humcer Singh (of Soor), cousin of the late raja, and Meerjee Shettya, Karbharee of Jh'dum Singh, of Mondeytee.'

on condition of obtaining his brother's release Soorujmul, therefore, set out from Koow woo where he then resided to look after the chief of Roopal Now, the Bheels of the village of Wavree were at feud with Roopal, because many of them had been killed by the Rchwur clan, to which Tutteh Singh belonged Soorujmul engaged these Bheels to bring him intelligence of the chief They disguised themselves in the costume of various wandering tribes and searched until they discovered where Tutteh Singh was Soorujmul having obtained this information began privately to ruse mercenaries, of whom he assembled two hundred at Ahmednugger and Morasa, and two hundred more at Tecntoce He remained himself at Koow woo until he was joined by his vassals horse, and then taking the mercenary matchlock men with him he advanced guided by the Bheels, towards the Roopal chief's retreat As the Mondeytee force came up a Brahmin who cooked for Ukheehund, and a Bheel were standing together upon an eminence Soorujmul's men fired at them wounded the Brahmin in the foot and shot the Bheel dead When the Roopal chief heard the report of the matchlocks he thrust the merchant into a pit and stood beside him with a drawn dagger, ready to slay him if he uttered a sound His son, Gokuljee, stood in like manner beside the Brahmin Thus they were prevented from raising the alarm, and Soorujmul's men having hunted everywhere without discovering them at length gave up the search and passed on to Roopal and Chandunee at which latter place they halted fifteen days Soorujmul wrote from thence to Khemehund telling him to forward money for the payment of the mercenaries but the minister refused to make any advance and said that Soorujmul had done him mischief instead of good The troops now began to clamour for pay and Soorujmul having no means of satisfying them, led them back to Roopal from which place he drove off the cattle and took hostages The animals were priced and distributed among the mercenaries and the money which was obtained as ransom for the captives was also shared among them, but their demands were still incompletely satisfied Soorujmul therefore led his men to Bokhar a Roopal village, and commenced plundering it Now the chief of Roopal had

shortly before seized a quantity of opium belonging to a merchant, and placed it in the house of a Brahmin of Bokhār Soorajmul being informed of the fact, demanded the opium from the Brahmin. The priest and his wife, however, immediately resorted to means of intimidation, they wounded themselves, and sprinkled with their blood those who attempted to enter the house. The Ryypoots, therefore, desisted from their attempt, but carried off the cattle and other property of the village, which was distributed among the troops, as before. The Mondeytee chief, after this plundered two or three of the Cedur villages, because the minister refused to satisfy his demand. He now retired to a forest, called 'Pharkee,' in the neighbourhood of Mondeytee and from thence levied contributions on the Cedur villages for grass, opium tobacco, sugarcane, and other necessities. Whenever the villages refused submission to his demands he plundered them but the mercenaries' pay was not made up notwithstanding. The mercenaries at Pharkee now fasted for two or three days, compelling Soorajmul to fast also, and they threatened him. He made them promises and induced them to accompany him to Wurlee, where he encamped beside a reservoir, and had the surrounding villages under contribution.

In the year A D 1835 Raja Kurun Singh of Ahmednugger, died. Mr Erskine the British agent was then at Wuktapoor, a few miles from that capital. When he heard the news he went to Ahmednugger to prevent the Ranees becoming suttees. The corpse lay for three days the belly having been opened, and filled with spices. On the third day some Ryypoot chiefs were sent to Mr Erskine to urge that the women would not be burned by force but at their own desire, and that it was their custom from the time of their ancestors. Mr Erskine detained the ambassadors but sent no reply. The Ryypoots in the town therefore, called in Bheels from the surrounding country, and sent word to Soorajmul to advance with his troops, determining that they would burn the women secretly if they could, or otherwise resist the British agent if he came to prevent them by force. Soorajmul however did not come up until it was too late. The Bheels secretly erected a funeral pile on the side of the town furthest removed from the British encamp

ment; they placed within it much cotton clarified butter cocoa nut shells, and other inflammable substances. Mr Erskine had set guards at all the gates of the town, and the Rajpoots, therefore, opened a new one, and, in the middle of the night, armed themselves, and carried the sutees out by it. There were three Rānees upon whom the desire of accompanying their lord came, they were daughters of a Deora chief of the house of Seerohee of the Chowra of Wursori, and of the Rehwar of Run'sun. The Rajpoots had taken the precaution of placing Bheels to watch Mr Erskine's camp, and when the sutees were burned, the flame of the pile, rising high into the air, attracted the attention of the British agent, who sent to ascertain the cause. The Bheels opposed this advanced party, and let fly arrows at them. The agent then mounted and moved on with his force, but the affair was over and the Rajpoots retired, however one British officer was shot by the Bheels.¹

Soorajmul arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmednugger the day after the death of the sutees, and sent forward a party of horse to reconnoitre. They came to Ahmednugger and seeing what had happened, returned and reported to the chief who thereupon moved back again to the reservoir at Rutalee.

Mr Erskine wrote to Soorajmul to say that, as he had fled like a hare, he would follow him like a hound. The chief

¹ Mr Erskine to the Resident at Baroda 9th February 1830.

* The camp was removed about eight o'clock and all was quiet till an alarm was given about half past two o'clock in the morning that the pile was on fire. The Guikowar horse were encamped between the ground we formerly occupied and the river on the banks of which the pile had been erected and I have been informed this morning that the cries and supplications of the women were so vociferous that every man who was asleep started from his bed. Enough people to perpetrate the violence were taken but no more and the women were dragged over a broken part of the wall on the river side by these ruffians attended by Kurun Singh's two sons and with the utmost haste hurried into the pile which saturated with oil and clarified butter was set fire to and the abomination completed. Any attempt to prevent the sutee must have been too late as when I was informed of the fire I beheld the extensive blaze and knew that all was over.

For further details supplied by the English Records see the note at the end of this chapter.

thereupon, sent his family to Panowra, and retired himself to the celebrated hill, named the Ghoonwo, which is surrounded by a thick forest. The British agent, when he had received reinforcements, moved upon Gota, accompanied by eleven officers. There was a sheep fastened at the door of Soorujmul's house. A trooper of the British detachment came to carry it off, and was shot dead. Many other men were killed, and, among them, one of the British officers, but the village was not taken. During the night Soorujmul's aunt, the widow of the Row of Pol, made her escape, under the escort of some Bheels, to Panowra. In the morning the attack was resumed, but noon came, and the village was not yet captured. The Kookee chief of Dhuroec, who was with the British, now asked for permission to break into the village, as he was at feud with Soorujmul. He broke into the place where the horses were picketted, and the troops entered the village, and burnt it. Several Rajpoots were killed or wounded, among them, Rutno Rathor fell, after killing many of the assailants—the mark of his sword upon a tree is still pointed out by the villagers.

People say that of old
The headless corpse fought on,
O' man jewel Rutno! the tradition
You preserved, brave son of Sher Singh!

When Soorujmul, who was at the Ghoonwo hill, a few miles off, heard the report of musketry, and saw the flames of the burning village, he sent out scouts, who learnt what had happened from people whom they met flying from the village, and, returning, gave information to their chief. Upon this, Soorujmul proceeded immediately to Gota, with his Rajpoot horse, and four hundred matchlock men. The British detachment was then at the village reservoir, many who had been wounded, were already placed in litters, and some were refreshing themselves beside the tank. Soorujmul sent forward his matchlock men to a ravine, through which the road from Gota to Wuralee passes, and, when the British force moved, he followed them with his horsemen until they fell into the ambuscade, where many of them were killed and wounded. People say that another British officer was killed there.

The detachment reached Wuralee, and from thence retreated

by Cedur to Sadri.¹ Soorujmul returned to the Ghoonwo, and, seizing a trader of Gulora as a hostage for his subsistence,

¹ The following account of the affair at Gota is derived from a letter addressed to Mr Erskine by Captain Delamain, dated Cedur, 22nd February, 1835. —

‘I have the honor to report that I reached the position stated to be occupied by Soorujmul at daybreak yesterday morning and found it deserted. Upon enquiry, I was given to understand that he had moved off two days previously to or in the direction of a village named Gota about two kos distant which is held by his brother and it was thought probable that he was staying with him in the vicinity. I instantly directed the march upon that village, and on the advance guard riding up the principal avenue of the village a shot was at once directed upon them from a high ghurree and in a few minutes firing commenced in several quarters on both sides. The result has been twenty five prisoners the whole of the men in the village at the time exclusive of four or five that were killed.

‘I regret to have to state that the loss we have sustained in this affair is most severe and much more than the object would warrant, could it have been anticipated. It was wholly caused by about seven men who had taken position in a very strong and lofty ghurree situated in the midst of a court yard without the means of ascent except by a small door which was commanded from the apertures of the out houses forming the court in the intricacies of which some of the enemy were posted. Their shots were unerring and the whole of their defence most creditable to them as men. I before lamented the number of casualties. I must now acquaint you with the greatest concern that Lieutenant Pottinger is among the number killed. He fell most gallantly heading an advance and although brought on to this place, expired about ten o'clock last night. His body I have this moment dispatched to your camp to prevent delay, and its arrival this letter will I hope, precede.

The village of Gota was for the most part consumed. I must be here to acquaint you that the intelligence received by you and communicated to me as to the nature of the country is most incorrect. It consists of rocky eminences covered with dense jungle and is altogether quite impracticable to cavalry as far as their use is concerned placing indeed infantry at a serious disadvantage. This was exemplified on our evacuating the village yesterday. Soorujmul (who was at hand) came down with his followers and opened a fire upon the rear of the cavalry through the jungle killing a trooper. To have attacked him was impossible and would only have added to the loss already sustained from him. The infantry I had at this time detached a short way in advance in charge of the prisoners and they were not available.

I had intended halting for the night at Wurder but a mistake having caused us to advance a kos on this side of it in search of a tank

therefore, went to the house of another mercantile man, named Lakhoo Shet, and asked the clerk where his master was, stating that they wished to cash a bill. The clerk said that he would cash the bill for them without disturbing his master, who was at dinner upstairs. The Rajpoots dismounted, and going upstairs seized the Shet whom they hustled out of his house into the street, where one of the party put him on his horse, like a bundle of hay, and the whole galloped off down the street. The alarm was raised in the market place and when the horse men reached the town gate they found the door swinging on its hinges. One of the Rajpoots abused the doorkeeper, and drew his sword upon him and he opened the door. Soorujmul and his party now took the road to Oduv. The Guikowar commander in Sidhipoor sent his cavalry in pursuit but as these had no hope of reward they followed the Rajpoots leisurely for a time and then returned home. Soorujmul went on from Oduv to the Ghoonwo and Panowri. Lakhoo Shet petitioned that he might be well treated and released on paying a ransom but Soorujmul though he assented to the first part of the proposal, declined the second saying that the Uteet's affairs must first be settled. The merchant gave Soorujmul bills which his followers cashed and supplied themselves and their prisoner. The mercantile body at Sidhipoor now complained to the government of Baroda declaring that they would leave the town deserted unless Lakhoo Shet were restored to liberty. The Guikowar ministry thereupon wrote to Captain Outram who was then the British agent in the Mylee Kanta to procure the release of the merchant. That officer advanced to Ledur, and called in all the outlaws on security for their good treatment. First of all came in Soorujmul and threw down his sword receiving a pardon from the agent. The chief then said that his mercenaries would harass him for their arrears of pay, and that he had not the means of supporting even himself. Two of the Monleytee villages were therefore assigned to him and he disbanded his troops with the exception of twenty horsemen. He was appointed by the Ledur government captain of the garrison of Bhedlora and his troops were taken into pay. His vassals also who had been out in rebellion were restored to their estates. His companion Raj Bhartee

sutees, and Soorujmul himself were all of them at Koow woo. The agent moved to that place, therefore, with a body of cavalry. The bards to whom the village belonged (among whom was the narrator of this story) were summoned to the agent's presence, and questioned as to where Soorujmul was. They said they did not know, upon which the troops began to batter the town, the fort wall was destroyed by the cannon, and the village was plundered and burnt. Many of the villagers escaped, but many were taken and carried off with the cattle, which were also seized to the head quarters of the British force at Wuralee. The troops after this advanced to Panowra to seize Soorujmul, a fight took place there and an officer and fifty men of the attacking force were killed. Panowra was taken and burnt and the inhabitants fled from it. The troops next burned Manpoor, in Mewar. Soorujmul and his family, meanwhile fled to the hills, and his wife, whose name was Jodheejee travelled in a miserable condition through these wild places, her feet pierced with thorns and her strength exhausted with the weight of her little daughter (afterwards married to Raja Jowan Singh of Ledur) whom she was forced to carry with her on her lap.

When the British force retired to Sadra the town of Panowra was restored and Soorujmul, leaving his family there returned to the neighbourhood of Koowawoo, rushing occasionally from the hills to plunder the territory of Eedur. At this time, the principal of an Uteet monastery at Sidhpoor having died the succession to his authority was disputed by two of his disciples. One of them whose name was Raj Bhartee, changing his attire to that of a Rajpoot went out in rebellion and joined Soorujmul. He promised to find pay for that chief's mercenaries, if he would espouse his cause. Soorujmul agreed and commenced incursions upon the country around Sidhpoor. One day Soorujmul and Raj Bhartee came with eighteen horsemen and halted on the banks of the Suruswutee near Sidhpoor where they cooked their dinner giving out to the passers by that they were people of Eedur on their way to a celebration of obsequies at Pahlunpoor. In the evening however the Rajpoots entered the market place with the intention of seizing the head merchant of the town. They could not discover this person and,

therefore, went to the house of another mercantile man, named Lakhoo Shet, and asked the clerk where his master was stating that they wished to cash a bill. The clerk said that he would cash the bill for them without disturbing his master, who was at dinner upstairs. The Rappoots dismounted and going upstairs seized the Shet whom they hustled out of his house into the street, where one of the party put him on his horse, like a bundle of hay and the whole galloped off down the street. The alarm was raised in the market place, and when the horse men reached the town gate they found the door swinging on its hinges. One of the Rappoots abused the doorkeeper, and drew his sword upon him and he opened the door. Soorajmul and his party now took the road to Oduv. The Guikowar commander in Sidhipoor sent his cavalry in pursuit but as these had no hope of reward they followed the Rappoots leisurely for a time and then returned home. Soorajmul went on from Oduv to the Ghoonwo and Panowra. Lakhoo Shet petitioned that he might be well treated and released on paying a ransom but Soorajmul though he assented to the first part of the proposal declined the second saying that the Uteet's affairs must first be settled. The merchant gave Soorajmul bills which his followers cashed and supplied themselves and their prisoner. The mercantile body at Sidhipoor now complained to the government of Baroda declaring that they would leave the town deserted unless Lakhoo Shet were restored to liberty. The Guikowar ministry thereupon wrote to Captain Outram who was then the British agent in the Myheekanta to procure the release of the merchant. That officer advanced to Eedur, and called in all the outlaws on security for their good treatment. First of all came in Soorajmul and threw down his sword receiving a pardon from the agent. The chief then said that his mercenaries would harass him for their arrears of pay, and that he had not the means of supporting even himself. Two of the Mondeytee villages were therefore assigned to him and he disbanded his troops with the exception of twenty horsemen. He was appointed by the Eedur government captain of the garrison of Bheclori and his troops were taken into pay. His vassals also who had been out in rebellion on were restored to their estates. His companion Raj Bhartee

surrendered to the Guikowar government, who, after detaining him in confinement for some months accepted a sum of money as an offering, and placed him on the cushion of the monastery at Sidhpoor, where he still resides with the reputation of being a very wealthy man. In a similar manner the outlaws of Ahmednugger, Roopal and other places were restored to their homes and peace was established throughout the territory of Ledur.

In the year A. D. 1838 Jhalum Singh, the chief of Mondeytee, died and Soorajmul succeeded him in the possession of his hereditary estate while his brother Sher Singh retained the lands of Rutunpoor and Gota.

APPENDED NOTE ON THE FINAL PROCEEDINGS IN THE MAHEE KANTA,
AS DESCRIBED IN THE ENGLISH RECORDS

British Government Despatch of the 17th of September 1833

'When Mr Erskine arrived at Ahmednugger on the 16th of February last whither he had proceeded with a force of three hundred men at his disposal to put down some disturbances quite distinct from this event he was informed that Kurun Singh the raja of that district was not expected to live out the day. Mr Erskine upon this endeavoured to ascertain whether a compulsory suttee with the raja's wives who were seven in number was contemplated as in the case of the Eedar raja's death in August 1833. He could not procure any satisfactory information. The raja died late in the evening of the 6th of February which fact was concealed until the following evening when it became openly a matter of conversation that five out of seven widows would be sacrificed at the funeral pile. Early on the morning of the 7th Mr Erskine summoned to his presence Pruthee Singh the raja's eldest son a youth of about seventeen years of age and Humeer Sing! of Soor the deceased's first cousin. Stated to them the detestation entertained by the British government of that inhuman practice and declared his intention to oppose by every means in his power the observance of a revolting rite which if formerly tolerated was now very justly enacted to be a crime within its territories by the British government. The whole of the succeeding day was spent on the part of Pruthee Singh and Humeer Singh in representations of the necessity of the ceremony taking place and on Mr Erskine's in earnestly entreating the cooperation in his views. Mr Erskine was perfectly unconscious that the sole object of this discussion was to gain time and that emissaries had been sent to every village in the Ahmednugger zillah to collect armed Bhels and matchlock men with a design of carrying the suttee into effect by main force. Towards the evening large bodies of armed men

were observed pouring into the town from every direction, within sight of our camp, on which Mr Erskine requested the officer commanding the detachment to disarm all such people, as it was plain they were congregating for some evil purpose, since there could be no occasion for that sort of force for the purpose of burning the raja's body. One or two parties were disarmed, and allowed to go, with a promise that they should get their arms next day. In the meanwhile, it was reported that a very large body of armed men was assembled in the fort, and a party of about fifty or sixty Koolces, matchlock men and others, headed by a man said to be kotwal to Kurun Singh, with lighted matches and slung bows, passed close to Lieutenant Lewis, who was on parade underneath the walls of the town. That officer addressed the kotwal, who was on horseback, told him the orders, and requested him to cause the men who followed him to surrender their arms, when the kotwal immediately ordered the men behind him to fire on Lieutenant Lewis. The men unhesitatingly obeyed, and Lieutenant Lewis was shot through the side. The party then ran into the town, the gates of which were immediately closed, and a brisk fire was opened from the ramparts upon our troops, who were within two hundred paces of the wall; and as there were pieces of ordnance in the town, which if mounted during the night, in the bastions, might have destroyed a great number of our men, it was judged advisable to fall back a few hundred paces, Mr Erskine having, in the meantime, sent off an express to the military authorities at Ahmedabad and Hursole, for artillery to storm the gate, and take possession of the town. Everything remained quiet until about half past two o'clock the following morning (the 9th), when an alarm was given that the pile was on fire. It was now too late to prevent or impede the atrocity, which was in the act of being perpetrated. The measures taken by the cruel authors of the barbarous proceeding had been but too successful, and the unfortunate women fell a sacrifice to the savage prejudices of their destroyers. We abstain from laying before your Honorable Court the particulars of the horrid transaction, which will be found detailed in Mr Erskine's letter, noted in the margin. (This letter will be found in the note at the foot of page 212.)

The sanguinary deed completed, the late raja's two sons, attended by a band of Rajpoots and others sallied out of the town. In the morning, no symptoms of hostility were displayed towards the detachment, except a few shots fired from the fort at the water carriers going and coming to and from the river, and most of the Bheels and Koolces had withdrawn from the town during the night. Mr Erskine's information, at this time, led him to believe that the sutce, which was undoubtedly a measure of compulsion as regards the victims, was perpetrated against the will of Pruthee Singh, who was disposed to follow Mr Erskine's advice.

In addition to the force, of fifty men from Hursole, arrived in the afternoon of the 9th, and Captain Lardner, the officer in command, had intended to have taken possession of the town that evening, which might have been done without much difficulty, had it not been for the

following circumstances —Some months previous to the occurrence of the satee, Soorujmul, the eldest son of Jhalum Singh Chohan, chief of Mondeytee, had collected a large body of insurgents, and placed himself at the head of it. The ostensible object of the assembly of that force, was to procure the liberation of the Doongurpoor Sowcar, brother to Khemchund, of Khooshalchund Nalchund a firm of Ahmedabad, and to oppose Heemut Singh, and Futteh Singh, of Roopal, with whom he and his connections had long been at enmity. Some unsuccessful conflicts with his enemies, and the importunity of his troops for pay, involved him in trouble, and observing that excesses on the part of the Thakor of Roopal, in the Doongurpoor territory, had not met with immediate punishment, he thought that he could best employ his followers in general depredation, and accordingly attacked Durrowee, one of the ghansdana villages, and distributed the pillage among his needy soldiery. Affairs at Ledur were in so disordered a state when this was made known to Mr Erskine, that he thought it advisable to wait till their settlement before he had recourse to coercion towards Soorujmul, and merely wrote him a letter of advice, but he subsequently learnt that Soorujmul had attacked Hursole, in Nancee Marwar, another of the ghansdana villages. Mr Erskine hereupon sent five mohsuls on him, requiring him immediately to disband his scbundy. He dispersed the five mohsuls, and refused to disband the force. On this twenty mohsuls were sent, but without any beneficial effect. [*Mohsil* (P), 'one who has been sent to gather information' For *sahbandi*, irregular militia, see *Hobson Jobson*, p. 805.]

'On the 6th February, at four o'clock P.M., intelligence arrived by one of the five mohsuls whom Soorujmul had expelled from his camp that he had encamped at Wuktapoor, four miles from Ahmednugger, with about one thousand Muknrees and sixty or seventy five horse, with the view of opposing the British troops. On the receipt of this news Mr Erskine advised the officer commanding the detachment to defer any operations against the town of Ahmednugger for a time, and requested the officer commanding the northern division of the army immediately to send such assistance as he might think fit for subduing Soorujmul's force, and quelling these extensive disturbances which had arisen.

'On the 3rd March the town of Ahmednugger was taken possession of by the British troops, and, on the 6th March, Mr Erskine stated his expectation of being shortly able to settle the affairs of the Myhee Kanta.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 15th October, 1835

'There were thus three parties of insurgents in arms in the Myhee Kanta. 1st Pruthce Singh and his adherents, 2nd The Thakor of Roopal, and his associate, the Thakor of Chhorewara, and their followers, and 3rd Soorujmul and his coadjutors. . .

'Captain Dalmain, with a combined force of two hundred infantry, a wing of cavalry, and a hundred and fifty Guikowar horse, marched to

attack Soorujmul, and on the 17th February reached Wuralee in the Fedur country, where Soorujmul was said to be encamped. He was found to have retreated; and, as it was believed that he was at Gotá, two miles off, the residence of his brother, Sher Singh, Captain Dlamain resolved on advancing to that town. The place was taken, and four or five of the enemy killed, and all the survivors in the village, twenty five or thirty in number, were taken prisoners. But our loss was severe, and an officer, Lieutenant Pottinger, of the 17th Regiment, N I., was killed. This lamented result was occasioned by there being a strong and high ghurce, or fortlet, at the place, which was desperately defended by the men who occupied it, and by our detachment not being provided with a gun, which, for the service in contemplation when the detachment marched, was not necessary . . .

'The field force having been augmented, operations were then commenced against the Thakor of Roopal. At the conclusion of February, 1835, detachments of our troops took, without loss on our side, and destroyed the villages of Kanora and Dodhur, and also a Gosacen's hut in the neighbourhood of the latter village, and on the 5th March, 1835, the village of Peermalee, all strongholds of the Roopal Bheels, and occupied entirely by irreclaimable outlaws. The town of Roopal was also occupied by our troops. After the dispersion of the Roopal rebels, operations were resumed against Soorujmul by the field force under the command of Major Morris, of the 24th Regt., N I., which, on the 11th March, arrived before Gorul, one of his principal strongholds in the hills in the neighbourhood of Mondeytee, and took it, and dispersed the garrison, with the loss to the enemy of eight killed and seventeen or eighteen wounded. Soorujmul had quitted the place, which was defended by his brother, Sher Singh, and about two hundred or two hundred and fifty Mukranes. Towards the middle of March, 1835, the force, penetrating further into the hills in pursuit of Soorujmul and his adherents, took and destroyed the strongholds of Pharkree, Panowra, Manpoor, and Badurwara. The town of Panowra was the residence of a Bheel chief, who had long been the terror of the neighbourhood, and who was Soorujmul's most persevering and devoted ally. In these operations we had an officer, Lieut Cruikshank, 17th Regt. N I., and seventeen sepoy's wounded, and the enemy had about 370 men killed and wounded.

'The transactions reported in this despatch have, we acknowledge, left a painful impression on our minds, that after the severest sufferings and privation on the part of the troops in toiling through a most rugged and difficult country, with which we are most imperfectly acquainted, the dispersion of the parties who appeared in arms against us has been effected, it is true, but the chiefs have not been captured, and the causes still exist which have always made it so easy in these quarters for an enterprising leader to assemble at any time a body of armed men ready to join him in projects of plunder and depredation. The mass of the population, in fact, in these tracts is warlike, and if not constantly predatory, at least always willing to be so; and while we have no more

acquaintance with the country, which is one of such uncommon strength that a few courageous and well armed men might successfully oppose at almost every step many times their number, and no more connexion with nor influence over the chiefs than those which we now possess, we can scarcely hope to keep in order so many ungovernable spirits without the employment of overwhelming force, and, in short, studying the country with military parties, the expense of which would be enormous.

'These considerations have led us to entertain thoughts of causing a correct survey of the whole of the tract in question to be made, and our president (Sir Robert Grant) has further brought forward a proposition in which the other members of the Board have concurred, for making an attempt at creating an influence over the warlike population of the Myhee Kantā, and providing for the tranquillity of the country, and fostering its eventual civilisation by measures similar to those which have been followed with such success in Candeish.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 31st December, 1833.

'The nature of Captain Outram's (now Major General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner for the affairs of Oule) duties in Candeish, and the ability and address displayed by that officer in restoring tranquillity in the Dang a few years since, point him out as eminently fit for this important trust. Under these circumstances our president proposed that Captain Outram be directed to proceed immediately to Goozerat, furnished with instructions grounded on the above suggestions.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 15th May, 1836

'Captain Outram himself, in his able and interesting report of the 14th November, 1835, plainly expresses his judgment to be, that however desirable it might be to conciliate the malecontent or insurgent chiefs in the Myhee Kantā, there are some of them whom it is impossible to treat leniently, men who having openly defied the authority of the British government, must be made a severe example of, who, in short, must be proclaimed outlaws, and given up, when identified, to be executed by the sentence of a drum head court martial. In this sentiment Captain Outram was substantially supported by the Political Commissioner and by several other officers whose opinions are entitled to considerable weight, to the effect generally that further measures of coercion are imperatively called for to insure the permanent tranquillization of the Myhee Kantā.

'After having given the subject the consideration it so well deserves, we resolved to adopt the opposite policy, and to begin by proclaiming an amnesty for the past, and by admitting without exception, all who are now out in Lahirwatees to terms, provided they will submit themselves to our authority, and furnish security for their peaceable conduct in future. We are not only sanguine that this policy will be successful,

but are fully impressed with the conviction that the pacification of the Myhee Kāntā will never be effected by any other means.

'In the first place it does not appear to us that the principal malcontents (or, as they are called, insurgents) have embraced the lawless courses they pursue from pure love of them, but that they have engaged in them in consequence either of family dissensions, grievances undressed, or misfortunes which British policy has occasioned. On this point the information before us is defective, but strong grounds exist for believing that the disturbances in the Myhee Kāntā owe their origin and long continuance to the above causes, singly or combined.

'In the second place we consider that the severe example which Captain Outram and other officers recommend as an essential preliminary to a valid pacification has already been made. Although in the course of the military operations of last year none of the disaffected chiefs fell into our hands, yet their strength was broken, their followers dispersed, several of their strongholds, towns, and villages burnt, or otherwise destroyed, and a considerable number of their adherents killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 26th April, 1837
(Abstract)

Captain Outram assumed charge of his appointment as political agent in the Myhee Kāntā on the 20th January, 1836. On the 7th February, in compliance with the conciliatory instructions of the government, he dispatched letters to the outlawed chiefs, requesting their presence in his camp for the conclusion of a settlement on the principle of an amnesty for the past under specific conditions. The period mentioned in the letters was extended in favour of Soorajmul for ten days, and on the 8th March that chief appeared in the agent's camp, expressed contrition and promised, on the grant of pardon, to find security. He then withdrew for the purpose of providing sureties and dismissing his followers.

On Captain Outram's arrival at Eedur about ten days after, however, an agent, from the town of Sidhpoor, came to request his interference in obtaining the release of the merchant who had been carried off from that place three months before. The British agent immediately addressed a letter to Soorajmul demanding that the merchant should be given up within three days and threatening revocation of pardon on failure of compliance. The government altogether disapproved of this proceeding which called forth from Sir Robert Grant the remark 'I have from the beginning feared that Captain Outram took too warlike a view of the mission in which he was engaged. Meanwhile however, Soorajmul had made answer that the Lteet, who had employed him to assist in capturing the merchant had carried that person away and that he, therefore, could not produce him. The agent continued to demand the merchant's surrender notwithstanding this statement, and Soorajmul was compelled to seek refuge at Panowri. Captain Outram at once proclaimed the chief an outlaw, set a reward upon his head, and started

with a detachment of troops in pursuit of him. The Rani of Panowrâ, on the advance of the troops, under the apprehension that his town would be again destroyed, as it had been in March, 1835, refused to afford either aid or protection to Soorujmul, and the chief, therefore, at once surrendered. 'Although,' said the government, 'we could not help rejoicing at Captain Outram's success, and at the fortunate result of his spirited, though somewhat rash, proceedings, yet we deemed the outlawry of Soorujmul to have been harsh, and the consequent march of our troops unnecessary, but the plan was executed with a skill worthy of Captain Outram, and we have no doubt contributed to the event. We, therefore, caused him to be informed, that we were perfectly willing to admit that success was to be attributed, not to his instructions, but to his departure from them, enjoining him however, to a strict attention to the spirit of our instructions for the future.'

On the 7th May, Soorujmul (who had been treated in the interval as a prisoner upon parole) presented himself before the political agent, accompanied by the Sidhpoor merchant, and, as their statements of what had occurred agreed, Captain Outram thought it advisable to release Soorujmul from arrest without the infliction of any fine, for which unexpected act of clemency the chief appeared to be deeply grateful.

'We rejoice,' say the government, 'in being able to report the continued good conduct of Soorujmul since his admission to pardon, and we feel pleasure in having it also in our power to state to your Honorable Court, that his exertions have been joined with those of Captain Outram in re-establishing peace and good order in the Wyhee Kanta. To this chief's assistance must be, in a great measure, attributed the destruction of the Bahirwutees Khoomla, and the dispersion of his formidable gang.'

Before the 1st September, 1836, the remaining outlaws had surrendered, and an important object had been gained by the opening of a line of road from Oudcipoor to Fedur, by way of Panowrâ, the chiefs interested having signified their consent to the exemption of travellers, by this road, from transit duties for a specific period.

During the stay of the political agent at Panowrâ the exertions of that distinguished officer were most successfully directed to quelling border feuds, one of which, a blood feud, had been handed down from father to son for forty years. He, likewise, took advantage of his presence in the wilder part of the hills to obtain the confidence of the border chiefs, who, up to that time, had experienced but few opportunities of seeing Europeans except as enemies at the head of their troops. he succeeded in settling numerous disputes and feuds, some of many years duration, which had been a source of endless correspondence with the political authorities in Cooverat. No great indeed, was the confidence which Captain Outram inspired, that several Bahirwutees spontaneously sought his mediation.

We take pleasure in closing the present note, with a passage from a letter of Captain Outram himself dated 29th April 1836, describing

the friendly feelings with which under his conciliatory management the British troops were received in the districts they passed through —

‘Our troops have traversed the country as friends instead of enemies. The Bhels who at first invariably fled at their approach were encouraged to come back and astonished at the kind of treatment they received. Or when fears deterred them from appearing during the stay of the troops near their villages they were agreeably surprised on their return to find nothing destroyed during their absence. A personal intercourse was kindly encouraged between the men and the villagers the consequences of which were soon seen in the happy and contented manner in which the detachment was met on its return. In fact the march of the troops in the Myhee Kāntā this year has been a progress of peace and they have been received as a blessing instead of a scourge to the country.’

BOOK IV
OR
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I

HINDOO CASTLS

HAVING brought our narrative down to the time when British influence became paramount throughout Goozerat, it is our object in these concluding chapters to present the reader with a general picture of the state of society among the Hindoos of that country as it now exists. The task is one of great difficulty, nor can we even with the assistance which we possess, hope to perform it in otherwise than a very incomplete manner. Though India and Britain be not now, as once they were, opposed to each other as Antipodes,¹ still an observation made in reference to other Orientals six centuries ago may be repeated with in many respects equal applicability to the Hindoos at the present hour — ‘Is it to be wondered at,’ said William Longuespee, on the eve of that bloody field of Massoura, in which St. Louis fell, a prisoner into the hands of the Saracen — ‘is it to be wondered at if we new comers, young men and strangers, are ignorant of the East? *As far distant as the East is from the West so far different are the people of the West from these Orientals*’² The numerous restrictions with which Hindoos in their private life are fenced round render it almost impossible that much private intercourse should take place between them and strangers, and the difficulties of the stranger who wishes to become acquainted with them are materially enhanced if his situation be that of a government official. But the only alternative offered to him is one of still greater difficulty, it is simply this, that he should, without an effort to the contrary, remain ignorant of a people among whom the best years of his life must be spent, and so be perpetually misunderstanding and misrepresenting the feelings by which they are actuated and the facts by which they are surrounded.

¹ Nec ipsos Indos lateris a parte orientis nec ipsos Britannos a parte Occidentis. — Arnobius quoted by Bishop Beveridge

² Vide Matthew Paris's *English History*

Englishmen seem hardly able to realize the truth that in this nineteenth century a people, such as the Hindoos, survives, the habits and manners of which bear so much greater an affinity to those which they read of in the pages of Adams and Potter, or ponder over in the dusty saloons of a museum, than to those with which, in daily life, they are conversant. We have some apprehension, therefore, that the following descriptions may seem to our readers to be derived rather from antiquarian research than from every day observation of common life. This, we would respectfully urge, is not the case; much which we represent will doubtless wear an antique appearance, for Hindoo life is in its outline, at the present time, much what it was in the days of Hurun and Jye Singh, but the things of which we treat are, nevertheless, things which exist.

The first institution of Hindoo society which forces itself upon the attention of the stranger is that of caste. When Mr. Borradaile counted the castes in Surat in A. D. 1827, at the time that he was employed in collecting and arranging information regarding the customs of the Hindoos (a work which has unfortunately been altogether discontinued) he found in that city no less than two hundred and seven. Each of these was more or less restricted from private intercourse with all the rest (a subject which we shall have to pursue in some detail), they could not intermarry, nor even eat the same food, nor drink the same water.

Originally there were, as is well known, no more than four castes in India,—the Brahmin, or priestly, the Kshutreeya, or warlike, the Vaisnya, or agricultural and mercantile, and the Shoodra, or menial¹. It would appear that for some time at least these men designated classes rather than hereditary castes in the modern sense of the term. Shrungel, the Reeshee or Sage, was born, we are told, of a deer, Kousheek spring from sacrificial grass, Goutum from a hare, Valmeek from a snake's heap. Dron Acharya from a leaf plate, other sages were the offspring of sailors' daughters, of prostitutes, of outcaste mothers of menial servants, but they were nevertheless, all

¹ [The theory of four original castes is a fiction. See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India* (1919), p. 35.]

of them Brahmans. In the *Muhā Bhārata* frequent mention is made of the sages sharing the same table with the warriors; and of Kalcēdās, the poet, who was a Brahman, it is said in other books, that he married the raja's daughter, who was of course a Kshutreeya.¹

The celebrated 'seven Reeshees' were householding Brahmans, and possessed but one wife between them. These transferred to the heavens as the stars, which we call the Pleiades, shine around Droov, the north star, the portal of Vishnū's Paradise, and beside them, in a lesser light, shines their consort Uroondhutee.² From the seven sages most of the Brahmans

¹ [In the earliest ages the head of every Aryan household was his own priest, and even a king would himself perform the sacrifices which were appropriate to his rank. By degrees, families or guilds of priestly singers arose, who sought service under the kings and were rewarded with rich presents for the hymns or praise and prayer recited and sacrifices offered by them on behalf of their masters. As time went on the sacrifices became more numerous and more elaborate, and the mass of ritual grew to such an extent that the king could no longer cope with it unaided. The employment of *purohitas* or family priests, formerly optional now became a sacred duty if the sacrifices were not to fall into disuse. The Brāhman obtained a monopoly of the priestly functions, and a race of sacerdotal specialists arose which tended continually to close its ranks against the intrusion of outsiders. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* s v Brahman.]

In the earliest Vedic days the only distinction between Ārya and Dasyu was that of race or colour (*varṇa*). A famous verse in the Rig Veda (ix. 112) says

'Behold I am a maker of hymns my father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on the stone we are all of different occupations'

Caste, to a large extent, is occupational in origin. The early Āryan tribes included warriors, priests and farmers, whose occupations tended to become traditional and hereditary, although at first transition from one class to another was easy. Thus Visvāmītra, a Kshatriya, became a Brahman, as did the descendants of Garga. Priests of various castes and tribes assumed the title of Brahman. The ascendancy of the Brahmans was chiefly due to their monopoly of the Vedas which they cherished as a closely guarded secret. An early record of the struggle between the priestly and the warrior classes is preserved in the story of the incarnation of Vishnu as Parāsurama, the Brahman who slew the Kshatriyas. See V A Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp 31-8.]

² [The *Saptarshi*, or Seven Rishis, the eponymous ancestors of the Brahman *gotras*, are Jamadagni, Bharadvaja, Gautama, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Agastya, and Atri. For Arundhati see p 320, note 4.]

trace their descent. Perhaps the first tangible schism among the Brahmins (for the Hindoo scriptures contain none of the modern caste names) may be traced to the time of the great Brahminical reformer, Shunkur Ācharyā¹ who appeared about a century and a half before Christ to oppose the Buddhist doctrines. He found dissensions existing among the Brahmins themselves who held each to their favorite 'Ved'² and proscribed those who preferred another of the four. The great reformer recommended that flesh should not be eaten thus in concession to the popular appreciation of Buddhism. Keeping out of sight the Ved which proscribe animal sacrifice, he also advised that Brahmins should follow the Ved which each held hereditarily, without enmity to the followers of the other three. However though striving to compose schism Shunkur Ācharyā was unintentionally the cause of it. After his death his name became a watchword of faction and Brahmins who were hitherto separated only by the Vindhya range of mountains became henceforth divided into two sects one of whom adopted and the other opposed the tenets of the reformer. The Goud Brahmins who retained the use of animal food and the Dravid Brahmins who relinquished it would now no longer consent to drink from each other's cups³.

¹ [Śankaracharya was a Malabar Brahman theologian who lived according to the latest authority (J R A S 1916 p 156) in the ninth century from 805 to 897 (not a century and a half B.C.) He headed a great reaction against Buddhism and Jainism which had gained an immense hold in India since the reigns of Aśoka (-73-23 B.C.) and his grandson Samprati. Śankaracharya preached all over India as far north as Kashmir denouncing Buddhist heresies and advocating a return to the teaching of the Upanishads. He was the author of commentaries on the Vedānta Sūtras the Gīta and the Upanishads. He held that the true doctrine of the Vedānta is *advaita* or *Monism*. Nothing is real except *Spṛit* Brahman. Matter in all its forms is *Māyā* Illusion.]

² [Brahmans are divided into sects according to the Veda which was originally the hereditary study of their family. Hence we have Rīgved, Samaved and Black or White Yajurvedi Brahmins. These are further subdivided into *śākhās* or branches according to the different branches of the Veda to which they devoted themselves.]

³ [Brahmans all over India fall into two great divisions Panch Gauda and Panch Dravida. The Nerbada is the dividing line. On this subject and the Brahmins of Gujarat generally the fullest information will be found in J. Wilson *Indian Caste* vol. II Bombay 1877.]

The Brahmins of Goozerat are believed to be subdivided into more castes than those of any other part of India. The origin of the Owdich caste, which is the most numerous, has been described in the history of Mool Rāj, King of Unhulwārā.¹ They were called Owdich because they came from the north, and Suhusrā, because those who came on the first occasion were about one thousand in number. From the places of their residence they assumed the names of Sidhipoorēcā and Seehorecā Owdich, and the branches thus formed gradually fell into distinct customs. The party who continued to refuse the gifts of Mool Rāj, formed a separate caste called Tolukēcā Owdich. Since that time some of the members of the caste, falling into poverty, and being compelled to accept of the office of family priest to cobblers, tailors, minstrels, and others, and even to Koolees, have been excommunicated, and have formed so many further subdivisions. Others, settling in the city of Surat, or passing into the countries of Kutch, Wāgur, and Marwar, and there gradually adopting distinct customs from those authorized at home, have separated from the main body of the caste, and assumed such local names as that of Marwar Owdich Brahmins.

The Shreemālee Brahmins possess a scripture which they assert to be a portion of one of the Poorāns. It informs them that their ancestors were sent for from all quarters at the time when the city of Shreemāl (now called Beenmāl), in Jhālōr, was founded, and that they then first became a local caste. Māgh, one of the most celebrated of the Sanscrit poets, was a Shreemālee Brahmin. When the town of Shreemāl fell into decay, many of the Brahmins, bringing their family goddess with them, came to Unhulwara, then in the ascendant, and settled either there or in other parts of Goozerat, or in Kutch or Soreth. Others settled in Marwar or Mewar. A large number adopted the Jain faith for a subsistence, and were thence called 'Bhoyuks' or 'eaters'.² The Shreemālee Brahmins are divided into the followers of the Yujoor, and those

¹ See vol. i, pp. 62-5 [*Audichya* means Northerner. The Audich Brāhmins say they came from Kurukshetra. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. 1, 161, viii 145.]

² [See *Bombay Gazetteer*, viii, p. 145 and ix. i, p. 8.]

of the Sam Ved and there are seven 'gotras,' or tribes of each, which, however, except in Goozerat associate and intermarry. As well as the Owdich the Shreemalee caste traces its descent to Goutum the Sage. There is at the present moment a struggle for supremacy between the two castes in the western districts of Goozerat.

Brahmins will usually eat together though they decline intermarriages. There is however one caste of Brahmins in Goozerat the Nagur which will not even eat with another caste¹. The original seat of the Nagur Brahmins in Goozerat was Wurnugger one of the oldest cities in the province, the foundation of which has been assigned by tradition to the race of Kunuk Sen. When Veetul Dev Chohan built Veetulnugger² he caused to be performed a sacrifice which was attended by many Wurnugger Brahmins. These refused to receive alms from the king but Veetul Dev, resorting to a stratagem forced upon some of them the acceptance of grants of land. They were excommunicated by the body of the caste and founded the Veetulnugger Nagur sect. Similar occurrences at Satod and other places produced the Satodra, the Cheetroda, the Prushunora and the Krushunora Nagur Brahmins. Of this caste there is a division called Barud composed of persons who finding themselves unable to procure a wife in their own caste have taken one from another. They are much despised after such a marriage and compelled to quit their native village, but the sect continues notwithstanding to increase. Their women contrary to ordinary practice are permitted to remarry.

These are the principal divisions of the Brahmin sect in Goozerat though by no means the whole of them. It is usually said that there are eighty four castes of Brahmins.

It is stated in the Bhagwut Pooran that Mureechee Reeshee the son of Brumha had a son Kusyup whose son Soorya (the

¹ [The Nagar Brahmins seem to have been originally Mastrakas who came from the north with the Valabhi kings. Their home is conjectured to have been Nagarkot or Kangra in the Panjab where there is a famous shrine of Devi (D. R. Bhandarkar Guhlot in *J A S B*, 1909 pp 167 184 *I A* 1911 p 33).]

² See vol 1 p. 97 [Also *I G* xxiv 29¹-3 and 321 2]

sun,) or Veevuswân, became a Kshutreeya. Murceehce's brother, Utrec, had also a son named Som or Chundra (names of the moon), and he, too, was a warrior. The great majority of the Rajpoot clans deduce their descent from either Soorya or Chundra. In the commentary on a Sanscrit work called *Rutun Kosh*, it is said that the first of the Kshutreeya race was Munoo, and that from him sprung thirty-six tribes, of whom some acquired surnames by valiant exploits, some attained the rank of kings, others fell to that of cultivators, or even became lost in the Shoodra caste. Chund Bhârot states that when the Sages dwelt on Mount Aboo, and were annoyed by the Usoors, or demons, Wushusht, one of their number, created from a sacrificial pit of fire four Kshutreeyas—Purcehâr, Solunkhee, Purmâr, and Chohan. From these sprung the thirty-six Rajpoot clans, which he thus enumerates —

The Sun, the Moon, the Jaduv¹ races,
Kukooath, Purmar, and Tonwui,
Châhoowan,² Chalook,³
Chund,⁴ Silar, Âbheewur,
Doyamutt,⁵ Mukwan,⁶
Gurooa Cohul, Gahiloot,
Chapotkut,⁷ Pureehar,
Pav Râthor the angry,
Deora, Shank, Sindhuw, Unce,

¹ The Jaduv or Yaduv to which the Râs of Soreth belonged. ² Chohan
³ Solunkhee. ⁴ Chundel. ⁵ Dabheema. ⁶ Mukwana or Jhala. ⁷ Chowra
[As we have seen, the Rajpûts are not the descendants of the ancient
Âryan Kshatriyas, but to a large extent are descended from Maitrakas,
Sakas, Hûpas, &c., from the North West. There is still a small Rajpû
tribe bearing the last mentioned name. Rajpûts are Lunar, Solar,
and Agnikula. The Yadus were the leading Lunar clan, their chief
being Krishna. They were probably Sakas who invaded Western
India in the first and second centuries A. C. The leading clan of the Solar
race was that of the Sesodias or Gchlots of Chitor, who claimed descent
from Rama. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that they were connected
with the Nagar Brahmins and probably were Maitrakas. The Agnikulas
(among whom Forbes wrongly includes the Solar Rathors) were supposed
to have been created out of the fire pit on Mount Âbu to replace the
Kshatriyas massacred by Parasurama. The legend has been thought
by some authorities to refer to the massacre of the Buddhists and Jains
by the invading Hûpas and Gurjaras, who became upholders of orthodox
Hinduism. See V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 414,
&c., and Bhandarkar, op. cit.]

Yotik, Prutechar, Dudheekhuth,
 Karutpal Kotpal, Hoon,
 Hurcetuth, Cor Kumad, Jutt,
 Dhyanpaluk, Nikoombh great,
 Rajp, Lords of earth,
 K. kuchur last of all
 I have named the thirty six ra es

The common version now given by Bards is that five Rajpoots—Purmar, Rathor, Jaduv, Chahoowan and Solunkhee—*sprang from the fire pit, and that from these descend ninety nine clans*. The Rajpoot tribes still maintain that they are true Kshutrecyas though the Brahmuns deny that the warrior caste has any longer an existence. The reason is to be found in the affected purity as regards food and other matters, which has crept upon the Brahmuns, and in the compulsory marriage of Rajpoot ladies with the Mohammedan princes. The Kshutreeya caste is now no longer considered by other Hindoos to be next in rank to the Brahmin its place has been usurped by the Wanees a branch of the Vaishya caste who will not even drink water with Rajpoots and Brahmin wanees¹ is now a synonymous expression for oojulee wustee¹ or high caste population. The Rajpoots use animal food and spirituous liquor both unclean in the last degree to their puritanic neighbours and are scrupulous in the observance of only two rules,—those which prohibit the slaughter of cows and the remarriage of widows. The clans are not forbidden to eat together or to intermarry and cannot be said in these respects to form different castes.

At the residence of every Rajpoot chief are to be found a number of female servants either themselves purchased as slaves when young or the descendants of women who have been thus purchased. They are of all castes and are frequently even Abyssinians, in Katewar the usual name for them is *Chokree* in the Myhee Kanta it is *Wudharun*. These women are reputed to be of easy virtue and are hardly ever married at all but if they are it is with a member of their own caste. An intrigue with them is considered disgraceful to a member of another class. When a Wudharun is found to

¹ [wajals wazali, the people.]

be with child the Rince her mistress will send for her and compel her to disclose the name of the father, who if a wealthy person, is compelled to pay a fine. No fault, however, is imputed to the woman. The children bear the name of Gola or if they have been employed in high situations by the chief that of Kluwas. They remain however the slaves of the chief notwithstanding their promotion. On the marriage of a chief's daughter a certain number of male and female slaves form part of the young lady's dowry. They perform the menial duties of the household and used sometimes to accompany the corpse of their chief to the funeral pile and burn themselves thereupon.

Varshyas are still employed principally in agriculture and commerce. The most usual cultivators in Goozerat are the Koonbees who are divided into the three great branches of Lewi Kuruwa and Anjuni. They assert themselves to be of Kshutreeya descent and many of them even use the surnames of Rajpoot clans. Of the trading classes the principal are the Wancees already mentioned who form eighty four distinct castes deriving names principally from districts or towns. These castes are again subdivided as into right and left hand or into Dusha and Veesha names implying degrees of rank and derived from words signifying ten and twenty. The Wancees are still further divided by religious differences as into Meshrees or Vaishnavite Hindoos and Shrawuks or Jains. The genealogists of the Wancees Jain monks or monks as the case may be derive their descent commonly from some Rajpoot clan. Intermarriage is not allowed where the parties are reputed to be of the same descent.

Persons who perform duties which are considered to be menial are classed as Shoodras—such as barbers ink bearers washermen and others. The aboriginal tribes Bheels Koolies Meenas Mairs and others are also Shoodras as are the classes sometimes considered to be outcaste. With these difference of occupation constitutes difference of caste. In the territories of Hinloo chiefs Shoodras are not permitted to abandon their hereditary occupations nor are they allowed to dress themselves in handsome clothes, or to build houses of the better class. In former days, the lowest castes were wholly excluded from

the towns and compelled to exhibit a distinguishing dress.² The Shoodras have, notwithstanding their bards and genealogists who feed their vanity with the assertion that they were originally Kshutreeyas. Even the outcastes bear the surnames of Chohan Waghela, and others, and are attended by the Too-rees, as their minstrels, and the Gurodhas as their family priests which latter wear an imitation of the badge of the regenerate, and assert themselves to be of the blood of the Brahmins. The outcastes are, as to religion frequently followers of Kubeer who proclaimed the, to them acceptable, doctrine that one caste was in no way different from another. Even these however, are subdivided into Dhers and Olganās, of whom the former would be defiled and excommunicated were they to eat with the latter. Lastly, it is necessary to observe that even the Olgana is still a Hindoo, and superior as such to a Mlech or one who is not a Hindoo. A Mohummedan sovereign as the story goes asked his Hindoo minister which was the lowest caste of all. The minister begged for leisure to consider his reply, and having obtained it went to where the Dhers lived and said to them 'You have given offence to the padishah. It is his intention to deprive you of caste, and make you Mohummedans.' The Dhers, in the greatest terror, posted off in a body to the sovereign's palace, and standing at a respectful distance shouted at the top of their lungs 'If we've offended your majesty punish us in some other way than that. Beat us fine us hang us if you like but don't make us Mohummedans.' The padishah smiled and turning to his minister, who sat by affecting to hear nothing of the matter said 'So the lowest caste is that to which I belong!'

Among the Jains religion consists principally in the practice of austerities and in the avoiding to destroy life. Caste restrictions are not prescribed to them. The Shrawuks however, practice many usages common to other Hindoos. If one have come into contact with an outcaste he touches fire or water to purify himself. Like other Hindoos if he have occasion to receive anything from a Dher he causes him to set it down on the ground and then purifies it with fire or water, before he

² Vide the story of Jusma, the Odun vol. I, pp 109 ff

takes it up Even shepherds and Koolees incur pollution by touching Dhers, which they remove in a similar manner

'The shepherds, Bhugwan and Rodo,' said a Koolee, in the course of his evidence before a criminal court, in Goozerat, in August, 1853, 'came to me, and said they had both touched Dhers, and become impure, and asked me to give them fire 'I took a lighted coal out of my hookah, and each of them 'touched his forehead with it I threw it down, and they 'then took my hookah, and smoked' In other words, they were then purified, otherwise he could not have given them his hookah

An additional cause of subdivisions among castes, is the great expense incurred in their public entertainments A rich person who desires to render himself popular, will supply at one of these more costly entertainment than is usually provided, or continue the feast for a day longer Others, unwilling to be out done, exert themselves to follow the precedent which at length becomes so completely established that even the poorer members of the caste are compelled to comply with it, even if they borrow the means of doing so These latter are glad enough, in this state of things, to avail themselves of the first caste dispute which occurs as an opportunity for seceding If a considerable portion of the caste be of one mind, they have no difficulty in effecting a separation, but where the non contents are few in number, they are subjected to great annoyance The body of the caste refuse to associate or have any dealings with them to contract marriages with their children to furnish them with fire or to permit them to draw water from the public well The wives or married daughters of the excommunicated persons are kept from them and their dead lie unburied, until by submission, or other means, they can prevail upon their caste fellows, who alone are competent to do so, to carry out the corpse to the funeral pile

In some castes, a man is allowed to marry as many wives as he pleases—a Rajpoot sometimes marries twenty, an Owdich Brahmun frequently five or six, in other castes, a man may not marry a second time in the life time of his first wife Rajpoots never permit the re-marriage of a widow, but in

some of the other castes, a woman may re-marry more than once. Sometimes it is allowed to a husband and wife, who disagree, to separate by mutual consent, which is signified on the part of the woman, by her tearing the hem of her garment, and on that of the man, by his giving his wife a deed of release. In some castes, it is considered indispensably necessary that girls should be married before they are twelve years old; in others, a husband of high family is much sought for, and women remain unmarried at the age of thirty. Some castes consider the non-performance of certain funeral ceremonies, a sufficient ground for excommunication; in other castes, these ceremonies are wholly neglected.

Some puritanical Brahmins will neither drink water which has been drawn in a leathern bucket, nor even use it for ablutions. In parts of Western Goozerat there is frequently but one well in a village, in which case the outcastes draw water on one side of it, and retire, and the Brahmins and other castes, when they are gone, come and draw water from the other side. It is usually the case that there are many wells in a village, and that one is specially set apart for outcastes. The well is defiled if a dog or other animal have fallen into it, and, for its purification, water must be drawn from it five times, and Ganges water, or cow's urine, poured into it. If a Brahmin or Wāneçā woman, returning home with water from the well, meet a funeral, she will sometimes throw away the water at once as defiled, sometimes veil herself, and move aside averting her face, and, if the corpse be not carried within a few paces of where she stands, the water is preserved from defilement. The dead body of an animal defiles also, and, if one happen to lie on the way to the well, no water is procurable until it has been removed, and the ground has been purified. Some women will throw away the water if a crow alight on the vessel and put his beak into it, but, as the case is rather a common one, other women take no notice of it. The custom is, perhaps, connected with a superstition which prevails in Goozerat, as it prevailed in England and other European countries, that the crow is a bird of ill omen.

operations of the season. About nine o'clock their wives, having prepared their breakfast at home, bring it out to them in the field, and they return home for their evening meal, which is served soon after sunset. Some of the Koonbees, however, eat four times a day.

The Koonbee, though frequently all submission and prostration when he makes his appearance in a revenue office, is sturdy and bold enough among his own people. He is fond of asserting his independence, and the helplessness of others without his aid, on which subjects he has several proverbs, as: 'Wherever it thunders, there the Koonbee is a land-holder,' or, 'Tens of millions follow the Koonbee, but the Koonbee follows no man.'¹ The Koonbee and his bullocks are inseparables, and, in speaking of the one, it is difficult to dissociate the other. His pride in these animals is excusable, for they are most admirably suited to the circumstances in which nature has placed them, and possess a very widely-extended fame. When Prince Kurun, of Mewar, was received, after his defeat by the Emperor Jehangir,² and that prince was anxious to treat him with unusual respect, he seated him, it is said, on his right hand, and presented him, among other rarities and choice things of every kind, with a pair of the bullocks of Gozerat. The Koonbee, however, frequently exhibits his fondness for his animals in the somewhat peculiar form of most unmeasured abuse. 'May the Kâtees seize you!' is his objurgation, if in the peninsula of Soreth; if in the Cedur district, or among the mountains, it is then, 'May the tiger kill you!' all over Gozerat, 'May your master die!'³ however, he means, by this, the animal's former owner, not himself; and when more than usually cautious, he will word his chiding thus, 'May the fellow that sold you to me perish!'

When the festival called Ukhâturce comes round, which it

¹ 'Unde vivent oratores si defecerint aratores,' says Ordericus Vitalis.

² ['The inglorious war with Mewar (Udaipur), which had gone on for so many years, was ended in 1614 by the submission of Rānā Amar Singh and his son Karan to Prince Khurram'] V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 381.]

³ Vide Dean Swift's Mrs. Harris's petition,—

'The devil take me (said she, blessing herself) if ever I saw 't'

does early in Wyeshāk (May), the chief of a village collects the cultivators, and tells them that it is time for them to commence work. They say, 'No! the assessment was too heavy last year, you laid too many taxes upon us; besides, we have in truth, no master over our heads; people burn our houses, and lay waste our lands, and you afford us no protection, and do not go on the wār.' The chief makes sundry excuses, the most usual and convenient of which is, that everything is the fault of that rascal of a mehtā (his man of business), whom he protests his intention of dismissing at once. As to the cultivators, no one can have greater affection for them than he has; they are, in fact, his sons and daughters. Nor does the chief altogether over state his feelings in this point; for he is well aware that his lands are of no value to him without the aid of the cultivators, and that in Goozerat, as in other countries of the east, 'In the multitude of people is the king's honour, but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince'¹ After much haggling, and when the chief has presented the head-men of the village with turbans, and made liberal promises of remission of rent, the auspicious day is at length fixed upon, and cultivation is commenced. The first step is to remove the stalks of the last year's wheat or cotton, and to lay down manure, which the cultivators have collected in their dung heaps, or perhaps the slime of a dried-up tank, upon lands intended for irrigation. Ploughing, sowing, and the other operations of agriculture follow in order, a general notion of which may be gathered from the following ballad, entitled '*The Koonbee's griefs*,' which is a favorite song of the wives of cultivators in Goozerat.

Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers;
 The Koonbee's griefs we relate
 Our sorrows remove, thou who art the earth sustainer,
 Rām! as you please us we remain
 Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

July comes, the clouds rise;
 They begin to pour forth rain,
 The cart-rope, and the goad are in the Koonbee's hand;
 Wet is the Koonbee's body
 Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

¹ Vide Proverbs, xiv, 23.

In August it rains uncertainly ;
 Drenched through are both men and women ;
 Says the son's wife to her father in law,
 ' Babajee ' please to plant a little rice '
 Hear, Shree Krishna ' our prayers.

September comes in well ,
 Drenched are the koonbee women ,
 The children on their hips are crying ,
 Rain-drops fall from the bundles of grass upon their heads
 Hear, Shree Krishna ! our prayers

In October we hoped would come
 The rain that we were looking for ,
 Jowaree and bajuree ' are filling in the head ;
 The rice is drying up from the drought
 Hear, Shree Krishna ' our prayers

In November comes the assessment-maker ,
 At the village boundary he makes up his book
 The raja's order is now proclaimed,—
 ' A plant of pulse or a stalk of jowaree you must not remove
 Hear, Shree Krishna ' our prayers.

December has come in well
 The first instalment has begun to be levied
 Head man and accountant mount to the town house,
 The koonbee gets many a blow
 Hear, Shree Krishna ' our prayers

In January is sown the second crop
 The cotton pods begin to burst ,
 Old restrictions are removed,
 But they only make way for new
 Hear, Shree Krishna ' our prayers.

February month has well come in ,
 Green are the village fields
 The raja's dues are paid off,
 But frost now threatens to fall.
 Hear, Shree Krishna ' our prayers.

March month has well come in,
 But the blight has struck our wheat
 ' Come, let us leave this place, and fly '
 It is too late, for the head man has set his guards
 Hear, Shree Krishna ! our prayers.

' Two kinds of grain, ' large maize,' and *Holcus spicatus*

In April they meet at the town house

Come let us have your rent

They plunder the earnings of the widow & orphan & whelp

They carry off all by force

Hear Shree Krishn ! our prayers

In May come the land holders

They plunder us of the produce of our cows

For want of butter milk the children are crying

But the cursed ones go on with their snatching

Hear Shree Krishn ! our prayers

June month has come in well

The angry Koonbee is appeased

Oaths and promises they pledge to him—

He spreads his fields with manure

Hear Shree Krishn ! our prayers

The twelve months round is finished

In Roop the Koonbee's song

Whoever hear is it or hears it sung

Will be advanced towards Vishnoo's heaven

Hear Shree Krishn ! our prayers

When the crop is ripe the rajâ or chief, goes in person or sends his man of business to assess the fields. This is done in different ways of which the most common are the following — The land holder or his agent taking with him the head man of the village goes to each field. The head man points out what he considers to be the amount of the crop for example that in his opinion there will be so many measures of grain on each acre. The land holder too, makes his own calculation. The cultivator when he hears the amount of the latter breaks in with the exclamation 'Lord of the earth! so much as that will never be produced and I who am a poor man shall be utterly destroyed!' Much haggling takes place and at length a conclusion is come to which the Koonbee is sure to protest against though the result be far more favorable than he anticipated. The cultivator now furnishes security that he will pay the landlord's share and receives permission to cut his crop.

The land holder's share of the produce is different in different places sometimes as in Jhalawar about one third sometimes a half or two-thirds. Rice-crops and others which

are watered from tanks or wells, pay frequently one-third. Autumnal crops of wheat and barley, on irrigated land, frequently a fourth. In some cases, the landlord's share of the produce is nominally very small; but his revenue is made up by a poll-tax on the bullocks and labourers employed. In regard to autumnal crops of wheat, raised without irrigation (called *châsheeâ*), which are very common in the Bhâl, and other districts, a wholly different system was invented by a Rajpoot land-holder of the Choorâsumâ clan. According to this system the number of the triple furrows made by the plough in sowing are counted. One part of the field will probably bear a better crop than another part; and three divisions of the field are therefore generally made. The first, middle, and last furrows of each division are then cut, and the grain threshed out and weighed. The amount is multiplied by the number of furrows, and the average produce thus ascertained. A maund per acre is deducted for seed, and ten per cent. for the cultivator's labour. The remainder is divided into two equal shares, of which the landlord takes one, and the cultivator the other.

The most ancient system of assessment, however, is as follows:—The cultivators are allowed to cut their grain, under the restriction that they pile it in separate heaps in the village grain-yard. The grain is threshed out by bullocks. There is now a grand meeting of landlords, village head-men, men of business, *wânceâs* to weigh the grain, cultivators, and watchmen, at the granary; and the grain is weighed and distributed. First, about a fortieth part is set aside as a fee to the chieftain, next, something less, for the man of business, the village-sergeant, pocket-money for the chief's heir-apparent, the village watchmen, the *wânceo* who weighs the grain, the head-men of the village, the temple of the Devee, or of Vishnoo, the tank, the dogs, and other petty claims, too numerous to detail. When the weighing out is nearly finished, the cultivator will lay hands forcibly on the weights, and cry, 'That is 'enough now: ' and the remnant is left to him, under the name of 'spoiled.' When all claims have been satisfied, the remainder of the grain is equally divided between the cultivator and the landlord. The ancient practice appears to have

been merely to measure roughly with a basket, without weighing ¹

When a chief has to portion a daughter,² or to incur³ other similar necessary expense, he has the right of imposing a levy upon the cultivators to meet it. He sometimes also gives to the genealogical bard of the family, or to some other person of the mendicant class, the right of receiving a small duty upon each plough, or of taking a measure of grain from every heap in the grain yard. These grants may be made for a single year or permanently. Sometimes the tax is laid in the shape of a certain sum to be realised out of the revenue of each of the chief's villages.

It is unfortunately matter of notoriety that speaking generally, all the cultivators and holders of land in Goozerat are in debt to such an extent that they have no means of their own of extricating themselves from their difficulties. The creditors are for the most part Goozerat waneers of the Meshree (Vaishnavite) or Shrawuk (Jain) classes. A waneero commencing life spends his time partly in a large town and partly in some remote country village. He borrows a few rupees at interest in the town with which he purchases small supplies of clarified butter, oil, molasses and other such articles, and thus stocks his village shop. The cultivators having no money at hand, barter small quantities of their grain or cotton for as much oil as will keep their evening lamp burning for an hour, or for little supplies of groceries. They are perfectly unaware of the market value of their raw produce, and are quite satisfied that they have made a bargain if the waneero with a politic shew of liberality throws in a little more of the article he is selling under the name of a bonus. Having collected a sufficient quantity of raw produce the trader carries it to the town and sells it there at a favorable rate, and his capital thus augmented he returns to the village to commence operations on a larger scale. A cultivator, perhaps has lost his bullock, the waneero steps forward immediately to lend him money, at interest to supply his loss. Or, perhaps the Koonber is engaged in marrying his

¹ An improved revenue system is gradually maturing in the district subject to the British government, to which we can only here allude.

child, or in performing the funeral rites of his parent, the trader will advance him money to supply him with the clarified butter molasses, clothes, or other articles which are indispensable on these occasions, charging for them twice their value. Sometimes the cultivator prefers to make his own purchases in the town, but he must then take the wanceo with him to act as broker between him and the town dealer, for he feels that the latter will otherwise charge him anything he pleases, and besides he has no money, and cannot borrow it except from the village lender, for the curious feeling in regard to rights, which is so prevalent among the Hindoos, applies here, and the village wanceo will consider his property invaded if any other trader propose to deal with his constituents. On these transactions the wanceo of course gains largely. Sometimes, however, he will say to the cultivator, 'I have no ready money, but if you will tell me what you want we will go together and purchase it, and it shall be put down to my account.' He takes care, moreover, to hunt to his victim what praises he has heard of the liberality of the family, and how necessary it is that their honor should be maintained by a large expenditure on the present occasion. He adds, that such celebrations do not happen every day, but only once or twice in a life time—that the money will not be thrown away, and that nothing is easier than to make it up again. He will also say, 'I have every confidence in you, and am ready to advance you any sum you wish.' In this way, flattering his pride, he easily plunges him deeply into debt.

There is nothing more adverse to the prosperity of the Hindoos than this unfortunate feeling of theirs in regard to money and expenditure. With them a mercantile man has 'abroo' (honour)—he is a respectable man, nay a great man—a 'muhajun'—by which they merely mean that he is wealthy, though he may be, indeed he too frequently is, selfish meaness itself. Similarly, a land owner or cultivator is 'dbeeruj' 'walo'—a courageous high spirited man—that is to say, he plunges himself into irretrievable difficulties merely because he has not strength of mind sufficient to enable him to despise the little rattle of his neighbourhood.

But, to return to our wanceo—when the occasion for all this

extravagant expenditure has passed away, the wanceo demands his bond. He tells the cultivator, 'You have so much to pay to the ghee dealer, so much to the cloth seller,' and so on to all of which the cultivator assents. The wanceo says 'now give me my *lothullee chardmun*,' meaning a fee for loosening the purse strings which must be paid in ready money, for luck or as a good omen. The cultivator procures one per cent, in ready money, from wherever he can and pays it. He has further, also, to make a present, not only to the person who writes but also to those who attest the bond. Interest is stipulated for at two per cent *per mensem*, or if the terms are unusually moderate, at one. The bond prepared, the cultivator scrawls beneath it his mark—a rude representation of a plough. When the next crop is ready, and the government share has been paid, the creditor exerts himself to carry off all that remains, the cultivator with much entreaty, obtains enough to subsist upon for a short time and he is credited on account of the remainder with whatever the wanceo may be pleased to allow him. Sometimes the trader carries off nearly the whole, and when the cultivator talks about a subsistence, says 'What need you care? When yours is done you can have as much as you like from my shop.' Thus the cultivator is driven to the wanceo's shop for grain to eat and grain to sow his field with. The terms of lending are that the borrower shall repay twice the quantity of grain he takes away, when his crop ripens. The next harvest comes round but now all the grain which is left after the payment of the government demands goes to pay for that which was borrowed last year and there is nothing left to pay the interest of the bond. This then must be added to the principal and so the bond goes on swelling year by year—the trader (who is well aware of the practice of the courts of justice) taking care to have it periodically renewed and carefully closing every loop hole through which his victim might escape.¹

¹ The very poverty of these usurers makes them unmerciful creditors. 'A rich oppressor it has been said leaves a man poor but a poor oppressor leaves to him nothing.'

A poor man that oppresseth the poor is a sweeping lam which leaveth no food.—Proverbs xxviii. 3

The creditor will now probably reside principally in the town, and on his occasional visits to the village he puts up at the house of his debtor, who is obliged to maintain him as long as he remains there. If the wanceo have a son to marry, or a pilgrimage to perform, the debtor is obliged to lend him his cart and bullocks, and on such occasions he must also come forward with the usual present. The money lender has by this time begun to assume a very high tone, and to demand payment, threatening to sell the cultivator's house or his bullocks, in fact, as a villager would say, 'He becomes more oppressive than a raja.'

In a few years the wanceo, having thus made himself the master of numerous cultivators, amasses a large sum of money. He now turns his attention to a higher prey, and seeks to become the creditor of local chiefs and land owners. His first step is to get himself introduced to the chief's man of business, whom he gains over by gifts and promises. This agent accordingly takes the first opportunity of praising the trader in the chief's presence, and intimating his readiness to advance as much money as may be wished for. When occasion arrives, money is accordingly borrowed from the Sowkar or Shet (at which dignity the wanceo has now arrived) and the man of business prepares a bond, and brings it to the land owner for his signature. The chief haggles like a child for a sum of ready money to be presented to him as the price of his affixing his seal, but cares little or nothing about what there is in the bond, never reflecting for a moment that he is likely to be called upon to fulfil his agreement. A few transactions of this kind lead to the inevitable termination. The Sowkar sues in the Court of Justice, the man of business (who has carefully abstained from keeping any account, lest his own speculations should be exposed), deserts his master in the hour of need, the chief attempts to defend the suit, and while he admits that he has signed the bond, urges that he is not really indebted to one tenth of the extent asserted, he is informed that he must produce his accounts in order to prove his defence, and when he states that his agent never kept any, is told further that this is merely a false statement, made because the production of the books called for would prove

the validity of the plaintiff's claim. The chief has of course no further defence, a decree is therefore passed and his estate is attached.

We shall return to this subject in a following Chapter, meanwhile, we beg of our readers to believe that although we have selected a prominent case as best suited to the purpose of illustration we have nevertheless, truly described a system which, with local modifications, still exists throughout the province of Goozerat.¹

¹ Mr Elphinstone in A.D. 1821 alludes to this subject in speaking of the hardship felt by the ryots from the exaction of the debts contracted by them during the Mahratta government under the decrees of the Adawlut.

The root of the grievance he says seems to be in the readiness with which a bond is admitted as sufficient evidence of the justice of a claim. In this case it is by no means so for a ryot is easily drawn by occasional advances and partial payments into a complicated account which it is impossible for him to unravel. This account presents a great balance in the lender's favour and as the practice is for the ryot to give up his produce each year in part payment and to take an advance to enable him to go on with the next he is so completely in the lender's power that he would sign anything rather than disoblige him. The remedy therefore is to settle that in new provinces a bond shall not be conclusive when originating in an old debt of a ryot but that his whole account shall be examined as if no bond had been executed and only the amount which shall then appear fair decreed to the plaintiff. If the debts could be paid by instalments regulated by the amount of the ryot's payment to government it would complete the removal of the evil but at all events steps should be taken to prohibit the sale of a ryot's cattle and implements of husbandry in satisfaction of debts.

The Mongol Tartars appear to suffer at the hands of Chinese usurers in the same way that the Kooibees of Goozerat do at the hands of the Wanecas —

"They came to us" says a Mongol imploring aid "we allowed them out of compassion to cultivate a little ground and the Mongols followed their example. They drank the Chinese wine and smoked their tobacco — on credit they bought their cloth and then when the time came for settling accounts all was charged forty or fifty per cent more than its value. Then the Mongols were forced to leave all — houses, lands and flocks.

Could you not ask justice from the tribunals?"

"Oh that is impossible! The Kitat knows how to speak and to lie — a Mongol can never gain a law suit from a Chinese. My lord Lamas, — all is lost for the kingdom of Gehekten."

See M Hue's *Travels in Tartary*, translated by Mrs Percy Sennett. In another part of the work we have a description of the same state of things by an 'enormously fat Kitat,' who describes himself as 'an eater of Tartars,' and thus accounts for the name —

"What! don't you know the Tartars? Don't you know that they 'are as simple as children when they come into our towns? They want 'to have everything they see — they seldom have any money, but we come to their help. We give them goods on credit, and then, of course, 'they must pay rather high. When people take away goods without 'leaving the money, of course there must be a little interest of thirty 'or forty per cent. Then by degrees the interest mounts up and you 'come to compound interest, but that's only with the Tartars. In 'China the laws forbid it. But we who are obliged to run about the land 'of grass—we may well ask for a little extra profit. Isn't that fair? 'A Tartar debt is never paid — it goes on from generation to generation 'every year one goes to get the interest and it is paid in sheep, oxen 'camels horses—all that is a great deal better than money. We get the 'beasts at a low price, and we sell them at a very good price in the market. Oh! it's a capital thing a Tartar debt! It's a mine of gold.

The *Yao Ching Ts* (collector of debts) adds M Hue, accompanied this explanation of his mode of doing business with peals of laughter.

It is not only among Tartars and Hindoos however that such practices prevail. What will our readers say of the following account of a very similar state of things? The extract is from *England As It Is in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* by William Johnston Esq Murray 1851 Vol II p 200.

'The cause of the high price of village shops continues this gentleman (Mr Johnston is quoting from a clergyman of Kent) arises I apprehend from want of competition. A labourer (it is considered) is allowed credit for a small amount and then obliged to deal under fear of having his debt called for and of thus being left destitute for the time. It may be true that the shopkeeper by deaths and other causes loses money but with such large profits the effect is slight and as he knows everybody is his good tact and generally avoids a bad creditor. Millers commonly pursue the same system. Blankets are double the price of a wholesale shop in London shoes too are excessively high. The labourer in consequence finds himself ill off, and complains that he cannot live upon his wages when in fact he cannot lay them out to advantage. Averages and quotations serve little purpose. Deal here or pay your debt is the practical argument. I believe one great cause of the ill condition of the poor is to be found in this

CHAPTER III

TOWN LIFE—BRAHMIN—WARRIORS—PAINTERS—BARD

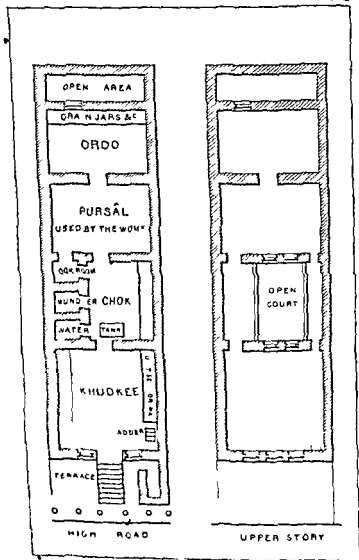
THE form of a town house in Gozerat, will be better understood from the accompanying plan than from a lengthened description. The same rooms occur in all houses, and in the same order, but the necessities of the site frequently alter the general outline of the building. In country villages, the houses contain, commonly, only the two rooms called, 'ordo,' and 'pursal' with a broad veranda supported on wooden pillars in front of the latter. Houses are built for the most part of burnt brick, and are covered with tiles.

The towns are usually surrounded by a wall, and divided internally, into *mehelas* or wards, each of which contains many houses but has only one public gateway, and constitutes a species of inner castle. The only public buildings, with the exception of government offices, are those which are devoted to religious purposes—mosques, temples, *serais* Jain convents. A river or large artificial reservoir is the usual accompaniment of every town of any consideration and places of worship are more or less numerous in its vicinity.

The daily routine of small householders of the Brahmin Wancei class in towns, is somewhat as follows. They rise from their beds about four o'clock in the morning repeating the name of their tutelary divinity, as O Muha Dev, O Thakorjee (Vishnoo) O Umba Mother. The pundit or Sanscrit scholar, mutters a verse — 'I call to mind in the morning, the lord of the deities, the destroyer of the fear of death'. The Bhugut, or religious layman, chaunts the praises of his deity in the vernacular stanzas of some poet, or, perhaps, in 'mental worship' passes over such things as the following in his mind —

'My Dev is asleep, in a fine mansion upon a fine bed
'I approach him and rub his feet, upon which he awakes
'and throwing a shawl over his shoulders, rises from his

FIG 1



GROUND PLAN OF A TOWN HOUSE
IN GOO/PRAT

'couch. I wash his feet with warm water, and anoint him with scented oils and perfumes. I cause him to bathe in warm water, and put upon him a garment of yellow silk, and a pair of shawls, and fetch him a stool to sit upon. I then make the teeluk upon his forehead, adorn him with gold ornaments, and hang garlands of flowers about his neck, burn incense, and light lamps before him, and set before him rice-milk and sugar to eat. I then wave the *ārtee* before him, and put upon him a crown, a body coat, a waistband, and other clothes. I then prostrate myself before him, and pray to him, and the Dev is pleased with me.'

The ceremony called *ārtee*, or *ārātreek*, will be explained in a subsequent chapter.

Brahmins and Bhuguts are frequently under the vow to bathe before sun-rise, in which case, as soon as they are risen, and have said their prayers, they either bathe in warm water at home or set off for that purpose to the tank or the river. After bathing they assume a silk garment that has been washed the day before, and worship. Each Brahmin has, in the Dev-mundeer, within his house, a small throne, upon which seven or eight idols are placed, as the Shālagrām stone (a representative of Vishnoo), Bīl Mookoond (the same deity in the form of the infant Krishn), Shiva, Gunputee, Doorgā Devce, Sooruj (the sun), Hunoomān, or others. These images are washed, dressed in clothes, and crowns, presented with flowers and other offerings, and worshipped with the 'sixteen services' which will hereafter be described. The morning worship of a Brahmin is sometimes thus performed—He praises the sun, and offers to him oblations; he then thrusts his right hand into a cloth bag, called a 'cow's-mouth,' which contains a rosary of one hundred and eight beads of the *Roodrāksh*¹ tree, which he tells over, repeating the mystic Gāyutree² for each bead, or the name of his patron god. Sometimes the Brahmin tells his beads four or five times over. He is now ready to take his breakfast.

The eating room is on one side of the open court, in the centre of the house. The usual meals are two in number;

¹ *Flacocarpus ganitrus*

² [The *Gāyatri* or *Sandhya* ceremony consists in the repetition of the

but rich people sometimes eat four times a day. Breakfast is taken about ten or eleven in the forenoon after ablutions and worship. Brahmins wash the whole body again before eating, Kshutrees and Vaishyas only the hands and feet. They then assume the yellow silk vestment which covers them from the waist downwards and is the sole article of dress worn at meals. Each person has a small oblong wooden stool to sit upon and the food is placed on a similar stool or short legged table. The vessels used are brass or copper brass—a flat round dish containing bread and preserves or condiments and two or three cups of pottage and vegetables. The water vessel of silver or brass with a small drinking cup set upon it stands on one side. The second course is composed of rice and curds or similar food. On great occasions however the fare is more varied and costly.

Ablutions after meals are confined to the hands and face. The men of the family eat at the same table then the women clean the same vessels and use them for their own breakfast. The servants take their food after the family breakfast is finished and they use different vessels. The men chew betel nut after meals to prevent their incurring defilement from the touch of a person of lower caste. Such pollution however when it occurs is remediable by the use of punch gavya or the five articles derived from the cow and by fasting for the remainder of the day.

The second meal which is a lighter one is eaten at about eight in the evening.

A Brahmin preparing for dinner makes a place called 'choko' the floor of which he spreads with cow dung and earth moistened with water. When at home his own *rusodo*

mantra (Pigveda 11 60 10)

*Tat Savitir vartanyam bhargo devasya
dhimahi dhियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्.*

We meditate on the excellent glory of the divine Savitri may it inspire our understanding.

Macdonell (*Hist. of Sanskrit Literature* 1900 p. 79) renders

May we attain that excellent

Glory of Savitri the god

That he may stimulate our thoughts.]

or cooking room, is the place employed, but, if necessary, the choko may be made under the shade of a hedge by the wayside, or in any other convenient place. Upon the choko he raises a little temporary stove, which he smears in like manner with cow dung and thereupon he cooks his food. The Poorbees, or Eastern Brahmins, carry their exclusive notions upon this point to such a length that brothers even are forbidden to use the same choko, nor may one take fire from the stove of another. Hence the saying 'Twelve Poorbee is and thirteen "chokos" ' because with that number of Brahmins an extra stove would be required for the fire alone.

The Brahmin when his food is ready, before eating, performs 'Turpun' that is to say, he fills a copper cup with water, and puts therein a few grains of barley some sesamum, leaves of the sacred basil tree sandal &c then holding some sacrificial grass he fills his joined hands with water which he pours back again into the cup saying 'I offer (make turpun 'of) this water to all the Deys'. He proceeds to make similar offerings of water, to men animals trees rivers seas Bhoots Prets Reeshees progenitors, and others. Then he mentions the names as many as he can recollect of his father's ancestors his mother's ancestors and his own deceased friends. He now performs *hom* or fire sacrifice by throwing a portion of rice and clarified butter into a little copper or earthen vessel containing fire repeating while so employed the names of the Deys. The Brahmin sets aside five portions of food for cows beggars, dogs ants and crows. He then takes a little of each dish and offers it to the Deys in a vessel containing five divisions. He now sits down to his breakfast but before commencing repeats the Gayutree over a handful of water, with which he sprinkles his own food and three portions which he sets apart for Brumha, Vishnoo and Shiva. The first five mouthfuls he swallows are for the 'Punchprin' or five airs supposed to be in the body and necessary to existence. At the conclusion of his repast he deposits upon the ground a little of what remains as an offering on behalf of the spirits residing in hell. This will no doubt appear to the reader to be a very elaborate and painful ceremonial, but long practice

enables the Brahmin to acquit himself of the performance in less time than is occupied in the description

Brahmins frequently consider it necessary that they should observe practices of peculiar difficulty in order to maintain their superiority over the other castes. Of these the most strict is an observance of the Nagur Brahmins called 'Nūven, or 'purity in regard to food'. The Brahmin, having bathed, dresses himself in silk or woollen clothes, or if he require to use cotton garments, these must be dipped in water, wrung out and dried in some place where nothing impure can touch them. Thus habited he sits down to dinner, but he must preserve himself from numerous accidents which would render him impure and compel him to desist from his meal. If he touch an earthen vessel he is defiled unless the vessel have never contained water. The touch of a piece of cotton cloth, or of a piece of leather or paper, which he may accidentally have sat down upon, renders him impure but if Hindoo letters have been written on the paper they preserve him from defilement, because they represent 'Suruswatee'. If, however, letters be written on cloth or leather, these remain impure. Thus if the Geeta or any other portion of scripture be required for use at the time, it must be bound with silk and not with cotton, leather must be avoided, and instead of common paste of flour and water the binder must employ paste of pounded tamarind seed. A printed book will not answer the Brahmin's purpose because *printing ink contains impure matter*. Some think that the touch of deer skin or tiger skin *does not defile*. Raw cotton *does not render the Brahmin impure*, but if it have been twisted for the wick of a lamp by a person not in the state of 'Nūven' it does, and again if it have been dipped in oil or clarified butter it does not. Bones defile but women's ivory armlets do not, except in those parts of the country where they are not usually worn, and then they do. The touch of a child of the same caste who has not learned how to eat grain does not defile, but if the child have eaten grain it does. The touch of a donkey, a dog or a pig defiles. Some say that the touch of a cat also defiles, others are inclined to think that it does not, because in truth it is not easy to keep the cat out. If a Brahmin who

is in 'Nuven' be eating, or if he have risen from eating, the touch of his person defiles another Brahmin who is in 'Nuven,' but has not begun his dinner.

Wāneeās, and trading people generally, set off early in the morning to have a sight of the Dev in his temple. Some persons entertain a superstitious notion that everything will prosper with them during the day if they behold a particular person's face the first thing in the morning, so they keep their eyes as completely closed as they can, and set off to see this person of good omen. It is very unlucky, they believe, to see a man who has no son, an outcaste, a donkey, or a quarrelsome person. Others worship the first thing in the morning the 'sacred basil', or the holy fig-tree.¹ After they have eaten breakfast and chewed betel, they set off to the public market, where they follow their occupation until evening time, when they return home to dinner, paying, perhaps, on their way, a second visit to the temple.

It is the men's business to make what purchases are necessary for the household in the market, and to keep the accounts. All other domestic duties devolve upon the women.

The wives of the poorer class of householders rise at three in the morning frequently to grind grain, and are occupied, perhaps for three hours, in preparing as much flour as will last until the third day. When they have no grain to grind they must still rise at the same early hour to milk the cows, churn, and extract clarified butter. At six o'clock, after arranging their costume, they set off with their vessels to the river-side, where they bathe, and fill water, and then return home. Some women bathe at home, and fetch water afterwards, and rich men's wives have a servant specially for attendance on the bath. When the women return with their water-vessels filled they must set to work to prepare breakfast. The males of the family, when breakfast is ready, sit down in a line at short intervals, and eat; when they rise, the women sit down. Breakfast finished, and the men off to their various duties, the

¹ [The Tulsi, *Ocimum sanctum*, sacred to Vishnu, frequently to be seen in a pot outside Hindu houses, and the Pipal, *Ficus religiosa*, associated with Vishnu and Śiva.]

women are busily employed in cleaning the house, the fireplace, the plates and dishes and other vessels, and in preparing grain for grinding. About three in the afternoon they have a little leisure, which they employ in attending to their children, or in combing out their own long hair, and oiling it. In the evening they are again busy getting ready lights, preparing dinner, and spreading the beds.

When a caste entertainment takes place the guests either wash at home, and dress themselves in silk clothes, or if the distance be considerable carry their dining dress with them to the house of their host, who provides them with water to bathe in. When they are dressed the men sit down in two lines outside the entertainer's house and take their dinner, as soon as they have finished their repast the women sit down in a similar manner. In some places the women dine at the same time as the men, but at a short distance from them. The persons who prepared the dinner set it before the guests, and dine themselves when the rest have finished. On the west of the Siber mutee river the women dress for dinner in cotton, which practice is the subject of much contemptuous remark among the people of the eastern districts whose wives wear silk dresses. In some places no person, not even a man of the caste, unless he have bathed and dressed himself in silk, can pass between the two lines of guests at a public feast without defiling the company, and it becomes therefore necessary that the entertainer should procure permission to barricade the street in which he lives. In other parts of the country a person of the same or of higher caste may pass without removing his clothes, but he must leave his shoes behind him, and carry his turban in his hand, and above all he must be particular not to carry with him a book bound in leather or any other leathern article. Five or six of the caste are usually stationed on either side of the lines to keep off the dogs, a task in which they are not always successful, and when a dog gets in, his appearance creates quite a scuffle, hands are raised on all sides to drive him away, and it generally ends in his putting his foot into some man's plate, and jumping over him, or else in his rushing between two men, rendering them both impure. The sufferers however put up with the affront quietly for the time being,

and finish what is in their plates, that they may not be guilty of disrespect to *Unn Dev*,¹ or sometimes they call to the sentinels who remove their plates, and bring them fresh ones.

In times of peace and ease the Rajpoot leads an indolent and monotonous life. It is some time, usually, after sun-rise, before he bestirs himself, and begins to call for his hookah; after smoking he enjoys the luxury of tea or coffee, and commences his toilet and ablutions which dispose of a considerable part of the morning. It is soon breakfast-time, and after breakfast the hookah is again in requisition, with but few intervals of conversation until noon. The time has now arrived for a siesta, which lasts until about three in the afternoon. At this hour the chief gets up again, washes his hands and face, and prepares for the great business of the day, the distribution of the red-cup, *kusombâ* or opium.² He calls together his friends into the public hall, or perhaps retires with them to a garden-house. Opium is produced, which is pounded in a brass vessel and mixed with water; it is then strained into a dish with a spout, from which it is poured into the chief's hand. One after the other the guests now come up, each protesting that *kusombâ* is wholly repugnant to his taste, and very injurious to his health, but after a little pressing, first one and then another touches the chief's hand in two or three places, muttering the names of *Devs*, friends, or others, and drains the draught. Each, after drinking, washes the chief's hand in a dish of water which a servant offers, and wipes it dry with his own scarf, he then makes way for his neighbour. After this refreshment the chief and his guests sit down in the public hall, and amuse themselves with chess, draughts, or games of chance, or perhaps dancing girls are called in to exhibit their monotonous measures, or musicians and singers, or the never-failing favorites—the *Bhâts* and *Châruns*. At sunset, the torch-bearers appear, and supply the chamber with light, upon which all those who are seated therein rise, and make obeisance towards the chieftain's cushion. They resume their seats, and playing, singing, dancing, story-telling go on as before. At

¹ Food personified as a deity.

² [See vol. 1, pp. 309, note.]

about eight the chief rises to retire to his dinner and his hookah and the party is broken up.

As may have been already observed in the course of our narratives the Rajpoot chief has always several ladies each of whom is maintained in a separate suite of apartments. He dines and spends the evening alternately in the apartments of each of the ladies who, with her attendants prepares dinner for him and waits upon him while he eats it, waving the punkah or fan behind him and entertaining him with her remarks which if report speak true (for no stranger is admissible on such occasions) frequently constitute a pretty severe curtain lecture.

Closely connected with the Rajpoots are the Bards the Bhats, and Charans.¹ Of their origin nothing is known but

¹ [The Bhats and Charans were the bards, heralds and genealogists of the Rajput families. The Bhats are probably Brahman by origin they observe many Brahman ceremonies such as wearing the sacred thread though the customs vary locally. It should be remembered that the original occupation of the Brahman in the court of a Vedic Raja was that of reciting the sacred hymns. An old rhyme says

Ige Brahman j chhe Bhat

Take p chhe a r j

In front the Brahman behind him the Bhat

At him belon him the other castes.

The Charans were originally as the name implies wanderers who also rose to the office of court bards and became as highly respected as the Bhats. But the most striking and characteristic feature of these two castes was the extraordinary power they acquired by the practices of *trida* or *dharma* i.e. mutilation or suicide if the ruler was disobeyed. As is shown in the next chapter in *Shahjahan* (p. 373-4) the ghost of a Brahman Bhat or Charan for the Bhats and Charans were regarded as inspired and their voice as sacred. Thus the Charan woman Bahuchara who committed suicide was worshipped as an avatar of the goddess *Mata*. For this reason Bhats and Charans were used as security for large sums of money the debtor would never dare to repudiate the debt because the sponsor would then commit *trida*, and his ghost would haunt the offender till death. In a similar fashion they would act as guides during a journey. No one would venture to injure the travellers for in that case the guide would commit *trida* and haunt the aggressors. *Trida* thus became a means of protest against any unpopular action and was even resorted to for the purpose of extracting money

they assert themselves to have sprung from Muhā Dev or Shiva. They are in some places cultivators, in others bankers, but their more legitimate occupations are those of acting as securities for the performance of engagements, and of recording the genealogies of their Rajpoot clients.

During the anarchy which has more or less prevailed in Goozerat from the time when the dynasty of Unhulpoor was overthrown by the Mohammedans, to the time when, under British influence, the settlement was effected which we have described, the security of a bard was one of the few available means of ensuring the performance of both political engagements and private agreements, and of providing for the safe transaction of commercial operations. Whether the paramount power sought a guarantee from the half independent principalities for the payment of their tribute, or a private individual desired assurance of oblivion and personal safety from the chief whom he had offended,—whether the money lender looked for a pledge of repayment, or the merchant for the safe transit of his goods through a country infested with robbers, the bard was alike resorted to as the only person whose security could be accepted without danger. As the descendant and favourite of the gods, his person was sacred in the eyes of men, who revered but little else and he had at his command means of extorting compliance with his demands which were seldom used in vain. These were the rites of ‘Traga’ and ‘Dhurna’, which consisted,—the former in the shedding by the bard of the blood of himself or of some member of his family, and the calling down upon the offender, whose obstinacy necessitated the sacrifice, the vengeance of heaven, and the latter in placing around the dwelling of the recusant a cordon of bards, who fasted, and compelled the inhabitants of the house also to fast, until their demands were complied with. It was not until the establishment of British supremacy rendered the performance of these barbarous rites impossible that the custom of employing bardic security fell into disuse.

and Gujarati literature abounds in ghastly stories of its use. This abominable custom is, of course a criminal offence under British law, and Bhats and Charans now make a respectable livelihood as farmers, moneylenders or traders. See vol 1, 302, vol 11 387, 429.]

In his heraldic and poetical capacity, however, it is, that the bard has been longest and most favourably distinguished. When the rainy season closes, and travelling becomes practicable, the bard sets off on his yearly tour from his residence in the



'Bhutwara' of some city or town. Once by once he visits each of the Rappoot chiefs who are his patrons, and from whom he has received portions of land, or annual grants of money, timing his arrival if possible to suit occasions of marriage or other domestic festival. After he has received the usual courtesies he produces the 'Wye,'¹—a book written in his own crabbed hieroglyphics, or in those of his fathers which contains the descent of the house, if the chief be the 'Teelayut,'² or head of the family, from the founder of the tribe, if he be a 'Phutayo,' or cadet, from the immediate ancestor of the branch. Interspersed with many a verse or ballad, the 'dark sayings' contained in which are chanted forth in musical cadence to a delighted audience, and are then orally interpreted by the bard with many an illustrative anecdote or tale. The Wye is not, however, merely a source for the gratification of family pride, or even of love of song, it is also a record of authority by which questions of consanguinity are determined

when marriage is on the tapis, and disputes relating to the division of ancestral property are decided, intricate as these last necessarily are from the practice of polygamy, and the rule that all the sons of a family are entitled to a share. It is the duty of the bard at each periodical visit to register the births, marriages and deaths which have taken place in the family since his last circuit, as well as to chronicle all the other events

¹ Hence the bard is called 'Wyewuncha, reader of the 'Wye'.

² [See vol. i. p. 432, note 2.]

worthy of remark which have occurred to affect the fortunes of his patron ; nor have we ever heard even a doubt suggested regarding the accurate, much less the honest, fulfilment of this duty by the bard.

The manners of the bardic tribe are very similar to those of their Rajpoot clients ; their dress is nearly the same, but the bard seldom appears without the ' Kutâr ' or dagger, a representation of which is scrawled beside his signature, and often rudely engraved upon his monumental stone, in evidence of his death in the sacred duty of Trâgâ. The heraldic occupation is hereditary, and as the bard goes forth on his annual circuits, attended not only by his servants and retinue (the females only being left at home), but also by his sons, the latter have numerous opportunities of becoming acquainted with the history of their patrons, and of learning, beside the funeral monuments of the race, all that traditionary lore which forms their ancestral wealth.

Of the poetic value of the bardic chronicles we have in some degree enabled our reader to form his own estimate. Perhaps it may be thought of them (as Johnson thought of the so-called *Poems of Ossian*), that ' nothing is more easy than to write ' enough in that style if once you begin.' Where poets form an hereditary profession, the character of the poetry can hardly be secure from this criticism. Their exaggerations are awkwardly great, and all their little fishes are apt to speak like great whales,¹ their descriptions and their smiles have so little variety that they might almost be stereotyped. Still it must, we think, be admitted that there is often in the bardic sketches much of spirit, and of effective, however rude, colour and drawing. Their historical value may be accurately measured by a rule with which the biographer of the Queens of England furnishes us : ' No one,' says Miss Strickland, ' who ' studies history, ought to despise tradition, for we shall find ' that tradition is, on the whole, accurate as to fact, but wholly ' defective and regardless of chronology.' The bardic accounts, where they are written, and are intelligible without oral explana-

¹ This was the criticism applied by Goldsmith to Johnson himself : ' If he were to write a fable of little fishes, he would make them speak ' like great whales '.

tion, may rank with the contemporaneous ballad poetry of other nations, where unwritten they approximate to common oral tradition. The written genealogies, where they do not ascend to fabulous periods, are doubtless correct in the main. In matters of less strictness even the bards themselves, though they admit a certain laxity, assert their material accuracy. The following is their canon—

Without fiction there will be a want of flavour,
But too much fiction is the house of sorrow
Fiction should be used in that degree
That salt is used to flavour flour

And in another couplet they assert that—

As a large belly shows comfort to exist,
As rivers show that brooks exist,
As rain shows that heat has existed
So songs show that events have happened,

There is one subject, at least upon which bardic testimony cannot be impugned—the subject we mean of manners and customs—and without contending for what is extravagant, we may remark that the bards, even if by an operation the very reverse of that which is performed by amber¹ have enshrined in the rude casket of their tradition much of that for which history is more especially valuable. Fielding, in vindicating the use and dignity of the style of writing in which he excelled, against the loftier pretensions of professed historians, said that in their productions nothing was true but the names and dates whereas in his everything was true but the names and dates. If so, remarked Hazlitt, ‘he has the advantage on his side.’

The bardic song with all its virtues and its vices its modicum of truth, and its far larger mass of worthlessness is now

¹ Family tradition and genealogical history upon which much of Sir Everard's discourse turned is the very reverse of amber which itself a valuable substance usually includes flies straws and other trifles, whereas these studies being themselves very insignificant and trifling do nevertheless serve to perpetuate a great deal of what is rare and valuable in ancient manners and to record many curious and minute facts, which could have been preserved and conveyed through no other medium. —*Baverley* chap. iv

nearly silent, and can never revive ; the swords which it celebrated are broken or rusted, the race by whose deeds it was inspired, is fast passing away. Perhaps it may be the fate of even these poor unworthy pages to call attention for nearly the last time to the verse which has been, for so many centuries, alike a solace in peace and a stimulant in danger to the sons of the Kshutrees.

CHAPTER IV

RAJPOOT LAND TITLES UNDER THE MOHAMMEDANS AND THE MAHRATTAS

THOUGH victorious in the field the Mohammedan invaders had effected nothing towards the permanent conquest of Goozerat until the time of Allah ood deen Khilji. The incursions of Kootb ood deen Eibuk produced little more solid effect than the expeditions of Mahmood of Ghuznee and but for the demise of the first Solunkhee dynasty the kingdom of Unhilpoor might still perhaps have resisted the arms of even the now established empire of Delhi. If the death of Bheem Dev II however did not leave a vacant throne the royal authority was certainly henceforth either in abeyance or but feebly wielded. The kings suffering perhaps under the defects of an incomplete title held even the crown lands which they possessed with no firmness of grasp and allowed the outlying territory to escape almost entirely from their control. Their Purnar vassals of Chundrawutee were overrun by the Chohans the conquered chiefs of Kutch resumed their independence the Ras of Soreth reasserted their old supremacy in that peninsula and entertained followers who soon became as powerful as their lords. The aboriginal tribes taking advantage of the feebleness of the throne began again to raise their heads. The Mairs of Dhundlooka and the Sords of Eedur exhibited the state of princes the Barceis of Gogo and Peerum wielded all that remained of the naval power of the kings of Unhilpoor and while the Kant Bheels pressed upon the Ras of Soreth their kindred ravaged the lands of the Wghels themselves. At this time also circumstances forced into the country various foreign chiefs who gladly received at first as vassals of the crown became in the end from their unquiet ambition the sources of additional weakness. A Rathor soon established a rival kingdom among the mountains of Eedur and a Jhila acquiring possession of an

important portion of the home territory, rendered himself independent in all but name, affecting even to have presented a province to his sovereign. The Gohils from the north, the Shodâ Pirmârs and Kâtees from Sindh, and other tribes entering Goozerat, joined in marriage with Choorâsumâs, with Wâlâs, or even with aboriginal Mairs, and, aided by them, attempted to wrest land from the Bhoomecâs, or, perchance, turned their swords against each other. Goozerat was, in truth, invaded not by Moslem alone; and the army, which should have defended her, had broken up into numerous divisions eager, no doubt, to protect the ground which each independently occupied, but, as a whole, connected by no common interest, and acknowledging no common leader. Under these circumstances, the generals of Allâh-ood-deen Khiljy met with a far more feeble opposition than had been encountered by their predecessors, while, at the same time, the booty which they at length succeeded in acquiring had lost a great part of its value.

The account which the Mohummedans themselves have left us of the first period of their possession of Goozerat, exhibits a scene of anarchy, produced, no doubt, partly by their want of power to settle the country, but, in a great degree also by the selfish policy in which the emperors indulged in regard to, not only the Hindoos, but also their own officers. Their governors we find continually changed, obtaining, perhaps, 'the honor of martyrdom at the hands of the infidels,' or, when more successful against their enemies, disgraced or murdered by the monarchs whom they served. Rebels, meanwhile, we are told, rose up in every direction. These outbreaks were, at first, confined to the Hindoos alone, but, after a time, the foreign Mohummedan officers, and, eventually, the viceroys themselves, joined in rebelling against the authority of the emperors, and Mohammed Toghluk, though personally undertaking the task, was unable to effect more than a partial settlement of affairs. Afterwards the resuscitation of the revenue was sought to be effected by farming it out on exorbitant terms, and a serious attempt to detach the province from the imperial authority, was met by the appointment of a viceroy, who, from the moment of his setting foot in Goozerat, virtually

inaugurated that separate kingdom the establishment of which it was his commission to prevent

The only Rajpoot chiefs of note with whom the Mohummedans are known to have come into contact during this period are the Ras of Soreth and his vassal Mokherjee Gohil Joonagurh resisted the Moslem attack and though Peerum was destroyed and its founder slain the power of the Gohil clan was unbroken, Gogo and the rest of their territories remained in their possession and a younger branch had sufficient influence to render itself paramount in the hills of Rajpeeth

We have observed the measure of success which attended the steps taken by the sultans to effect the completion of the conquest of Goozerat The Ras of Soreth and the Rawuls of Champaner were dethroned by Mahmood Begurra, the Rows of Eedur however successfully defended their independence against reiterated attacks and Chowras, Jhalas Gohils and others maintained possession of their lands Nor were they only the great Hindoo land holders who thus preserved their existence for in every part of the country the hereditary Rajpoot estates constituted no small portion of the lands of each district

The following is the general account given by the Mohummedan author of Meerat Ahmudee The whole of the zumeendars in the time of Sultan Ahmed Goozeratee erected the head of rebellion and disturbance They were however punished and driven from their retreats and the servants of the king were established in every place In consequence of being thus completely dispossessed of their habitations that band of unbelievers being hopeless began to infest the roads and villages with their depredations Anarchy increased confusion prevailed the decay of cultivation became visible and the ryots were distressed Those whose duty it was to advise in their foresight put an end to these calamities and exacted from the zumeendar of every village security to discontinue his opposition Three parts of the land of each village, under the denomination of Tulput were acknowledged as the property of the king and one portion was given to the zumeendars under the denomination of 'Wantā and they were engaged to furnish guards and protection to their own

' villages, and were to hold themselves in readiness for the
 ' service of the king whenever called upon. As these people,
 ' without paying obedience to the prince, did not see it possible
 ' to establish themselves they attended to make their submis-
 ' sion, and engaged to pay the crown a *sulāme* from their
 ' Wanta, from this time *sulāme* and *paishkush* became
 ' established against them. Some of the *zameendars* such
 ' as those of Huldhurwa, Ghorasur, Atursoomba, Mandoow, and
 ' others were converted to Islam, and entered into agree-
 ' ments for the defence of their own *dookchis*, and their posses-
 ' sions were conferred upon them by the imperial court, for the
 ' encouragement of the faith but they consenting to pay the
 ' imperial "*paishkush*" From other principal *zameendars*
 ' over whom the hand of conquest did not extend, the levy of
 ' a yearly *paishkush* was exacted.

We have seen, however, from the narratives of the Mohum-
 medan historians that this levy was not accomplished without
 difficulty and the continual presence of an important military
 force. The armies of the sultans year by year, advanced
 against these Hindoo chiefs (as the armies of the Kings of
 Unhulpoor had formerly advanced against Sorath, Kutch or
 Malwa) with a view of completing their subjugation if that
 were practicable or otherwise of enforcing as large a money
 payment as they could.

A similar general account is given by the bardic annalists,
 in whose wild but homely tales we have perceived how some
 of the Kshutrees sons apostatized to Islam how others more
 resolute treading the stony pathway of the outlaw's life
 regained a scanty portion of their lands and how a happier
 few, though flying oft from smoking homes the mountain crave
 their dwelling place and the shield their sleepless pillow,
 maintained the unequal contest until their oppressors were no
 more.

The emperor Akbar was inclined to adopt a more liberal
 policy than that of his predecessors. The great Hindoo chiefs
 as we have seen had already been engaged in the military
 service of the state and now they were freely admitted to the
 rank of imperial nobles, on the condition that they should place

the government mark on their cavalry contingents, and attend the provincial governor on all important occasions. The power of the imperial viceroy, or soubahdar, was supported by a large army, usually quartered at Ahmedabad which city formed in fact one vast cantonment. The country immediately surrounding the capital and in other places where the imperial power was undisputed was 'khali,' or under the immediate management of the servants of the crown—and the superior authority of the soubahdar was acknowledged from Jhalor to Songurh on the frontier of Candesh and from Dwarka to the borders of Malwa.¹ In addition to the central army cantoned in Ahmedabad, there were also numerous fortified ports, called Tahnahs occupied by the imperial troops in different places. The whole extent of the country was nevertheless intersected by the possessions of the Hindoo chieftains who all of them under the Mogul government whether 'Rajis Rajpoots Koolies or Grassias bore the general name of zumeendars. The revenue which was derivable from the zumeendars or their villages was a fixed and settled sum. It was not determined by a valuation of the produce and the assignment of a portion as the share of government, but on the contrary each proprietor obtained the best terms that he could. In the times of the emperors as in those of the Sultans of Ahmedabad, however, the collection of the revenue from the zumeendars was always of necessity supported by the presence of a military force.

If the governor of the Soubah says the historian 'should proceed with a large army towards the banks of the Watruk which is situated to the westward and also towards the boundary in that direction as far as Wanswara and Doongurpoor, which may be about one hundred kos from Ahmedabad and should return from Wanswara towards the south the Zumeendars of South and Jilreca and the Bircia districts and Rajpoots and Manjavee and Runnugger (which is upon the sea coast) would settle for their pakhush, should he proceed towards Doongurpoor, which is to the north-east he will effect the settlement of the Zillah of Lador. Seecher,

¹ See verbal information relative to the state of Coomrat communicated to Colonel Walker by Amrut Lall agent there nearly thirty years on behalf of the Peshwa's governor of Ahmedabad.

'Dântâ, the hills of Geer, Ranna Bao Phaphur Khundcya-nugger, the tâlookâ of Kutch, and from thence the Zumeendârs' of Jhâlâwâr, Moorbee, Hulwud, the Sirkâr of Islâm-nugger (Bhoof), Jugut Ranna Bhao, Sirkâr of Soreth, Porbunder, Chanyeh Kesoje, Oonah, and others of Kâteewâr, —Gohilwâr, Loleeyânah, Dhundhooka, and Dholka, and at length arrive at Khumbâyut, which is situated on the sea-coast, through the above-named Zillahs.'

Many of the great 'zumeendârs' continued to perform service until the reign of Aurangzeeb, but regained after that time their complete independence. In the same period of disorder the small landholders also strove, and not without partial success, to recover the lands which they had been compelled to resign in favour of the crown.

'In the course of time,' says the same Mohummedan author, 'the Rajpoots and Kooles, who had become powerful, excited disturbances, carried away the cattle from towns, and murdered the inhabitants during the harvest season. The people having no means of redress, purchased exemption from these evils by giving the authors of them a yearly payment in money, or by yielding up possession of one or more fields fit for cultivation, and such claim for exemption is called *grâs* or *wol*. This custom, gradually established, has been so matured through the weakness of the provincial governors that there are very few places in the pergunnahs where some of the Rajpoot, Koolee, or Mohummedan inhabitants do not possess the right to *grâs*.

'As these people are naturally disobedient, addicted to theft, highway robbery, and sedition, they therefore excited insurrections whenever the government of the provincial rulers indicated the least weakness. On this account several of the governors, both in past and present times, after strengthening the fortifications of the province, stationed a sufficient party of soldiers therein, and these posts are named Tahnahs. The payment of each Tahnah has been fixed by government, and certain lands are set aside for this purpose in order that the party of men may never leave the post, lest disturbances might be set on foot. Now that the unsettled state of the province goes on increasing, the seditious tribes

' already mentioned have levelled the small forts, where there
' were formerly Tahnahs, and by establishing themselves in
' others, have obtained possession in many towns of the tulput
' government share instead of *grâs*

' At present (A. D. 1747-8 to 1750) the provincial governor
' raises a force and collects a tribute from the holders of *uândâ*
' in possession of the tulput in proportion to the capability of
' each place, while he takes security from his own *amildars* (or
' officers), but when the great landholders refuse to pay the
' tribute, what power has the provincial governor to enforce it?
' and so fruitless have they become that he cannot pass the
' city gate without an escort for them

There were, however, causes wholly independent of the
Mohammedan conquest, which tended to reduce the power of
the Rajpoot chiefs. The younger brothers of a family were
invariably considered entitled to a portion of the paternal
estate. In the case of important chieftainships this right was
restricted to a portion of land assigned as a maintenance, the
extent of which varied according to circumstances and the
cadet or 'phutâyo' was the vassal of the 'tecliyut,' or
chieftain, but where the estate of a cadet was concerned his
sons either divided the lands equally among themselves, or the
younger brothers sharing alike, assigned a larger share to the
elder. Had circumstances permitted the strict and regular
action of this system it is manifest that the land holding
families must have been in every case as they really were in
many reduced in a very few descents to the position of mere
cultivators. But where no central government existed and
where public and domestic war continually raged around
them, the cadets such especially of them as were themselves
'good Rajpoots' frequently found opportunity for increasing
their inheritance at the point of the sword. Many too quitted
their patrimony to take military service at a distance from
home and the greater mortality among the class which was
inevitably the accompaniment of a state of chronic warfare
aided in retarding the minute subdivision of lands. The
chieftain was always of right the heir in the last resort of the
cadet. Sometimes, where the share of the latter was insufficient
to supply his wants, he disposed of it by mortgage or sale to

the head of his family ; sometimes, from choice or necessity, he assigned his land, or a certain portion of it, to a powerful neighbour, other than his chief, either to purchase protection or to buy off annoyance. A further drain upon the resources of the Rajpoot chiefs existed in the necessity under which they lay, from religious feelings, or the desire of reputation, of conferring gifts upon Brahmins, Gosâees, and other religious mendicants, or upon Bhûats and Chârûns, the recorders of fame. These classes were called in some parts of the country by the general name of Yûchuks. We have observed the 'lâkh pusâv,' the extravagant donations made by Row Veerum Dev, of Eedur, and others. These were not confined to money, apparel, jewels, horses, or other valuable articles, but consisted also of lands, which, from the same word above employed, were called 'pusâyâtâ,' and were free from all demands of the original grantor, except that which he preserved as heir in the last resort. Pusâyâtâ lands were also granted to soldiers for military following, and to potters, torch-bearers, and other domestic servants.

The term 'grâs' appears, as has been already mentioned,¹ to have originally applied to gifts made to religious persons, such as were afterwards more particularly denominated 'pusâv.' In the bardic chronicles, however, it is constantly applied to the lands given for their subsistence to junior members of the chieftain's families, and this sense of the word continued for a long time to be the prevalent, if not the exclusive, one. At length the term 'grâs' was also used to signify the blackmail paid by a village to a turbulent neighbour as the price of his protection and forbearance, and in other similar meanings. Thus the title of 'grâssiâ,' originally an honorable one, and indicating its possessor to be a cadet of the ruling type, became at last as frequently a term of opprobrium, conveying the idea of a professional robber, 'a soldier of the night,' such as the Meleekur of Koompojee of Bhunkorâ.

It is very important that we should recollect these distinctions, as the disregard of them has been the cause of embarrassment, if not of injustice. The concessions, which, under the names of grâs, or wol, Row Chândo forced from the usurpers

¹ Vide vol i, pp 232, vol ii, p 62, note

of his hereditary principality of Fedur, should not be confounded with the black mail, which, also under the names of grās or wol, the banditti of the Rājpeela hills extorted from the defenceless villager, or the reivers of the Choonwāl from the travelling merchant; much rather should confusion be avoided between either of these classes of claims, and the regular and legal title to a share of the family lands which was possessed by the grāssā cadet of a Rājput house. The following description by Colonel Walker, of the titles borne by the different chieftains throughout Kāteewar may be applied more generally to the whole of Goozerat :—

‘ The title of Raja is applicable to the head of the family only. He must be independent, that is not pay jumma or tribute to another of his family. The tribute payable to the Moguls or the Mahrattas does not affect the independence of his character. The address of a Raja runs “ Mulārājī Raja Shree ———.” The origin of the title of Rājā, which is nowise inferior to that of Raja, cannot be satisfactorily traced. (Similarly of the title of Row.) The title which follows next in gradation, is that of Rāwul, which is the most appropriate designation of the Chieftain of Bhownugger,—a distinction which his ancestors assumed on receiving some assistance from the Rāwul of Doongurpoor. This address runs, “ Rāwul Shree ———.” The sons of Raja, Rānās

' have generally called them "Grāsslās," in consequence of
' their being the ancient hereditary proprietors of the portion
' of territory they possess, in which sense the word "grās" is
' used, and it is equivalent to "Asil," or "Cudeem" (two
' Mohummedan words, which mean "root, origin, foundation,"
' and "ancient, old, former").'

The establishment of the Mahratta power must be reckoned from the fall of Ahmedabad, in the year A. D. 1755. For some years previously their incursions had been annually repeated under Peelājee and Dāmājee Guikowār, the Peshwah Bājee Row, and others, and Baroda had been actually taken possession of. The Mahratta inroads, up to this time, were, however, merely predatory expeditions, in which plunder was the object; and though a chouth had been extorted from the authorities of the Mogul government, still its realisation depended upon the extent of the Mahratta military power. Ahmedabad having fallen, the whole country was divided equally between the Peshwah and the Guikowār, including the tribute payable by the zameendārs, who, during the contest for supremacy between the Mogul and Mahratta powers, had observed a strict neutrality, paying with equal facility their revenue or jumma to whatever person possessed local authority in their own district. Neither Moguls nor Mahrattas interfered in their internal policy; and during the government of the latter power, they continued to possess the same rights and privileges which they had possessed, and to occupy the same position which they had occupied in the time of Akbar, with the exception, that a gradual increase to their revenue was imposed by the Mahratta arms.¹

' In the plain to the south,' says Mr. Elphinstone, ' and in
' the open spaces that run up between the rivers, the Mahratta
' governments had the right of administering justice in every
' village, by means of its own officers, and it always took an
' account of the produce of the village lands, of which it was
' entitled to a certain share. All the other villages retained
' their independence on the payment of a tribute. Most of
' those which lay on the rivers in the midst of subjugated

¹ From the information furnished to Colonel Walker by Amrutlal the Peshwah's agent

' country paid it regularly every year to the nearest revenue
 ' officer, but those whose situations were stronger, or more
 ' remote, withheld their tribute until compelled to pay by the
 ' presence of an invading army. The villages which submitted
 ' to the administration of justice and the inspection of their
 ' produce, are called *Ryutlee*, those which only pay a tribute,
 ' *Mewāsee*, but this last term is not extended to princes,
 ' like those of Eedur and Loonawar. The tribute paid
 ' annually to the revenue officer is called *jummabundee*, that
 ' collected by an officer at the head of an army is called *ghāns*
 ' *dhandā* (grass and grain). There are many *Mewāsees*, who
 ' though they are willing to pay a small sum to the revenue
 ' collector, will not submit to the exaction of a large one unless
 ' supported by a force. These pay both *jummābundee* and
 ' *ghāns dhandā*, the former to the collector every year, the
 ' latter to the commandant of the force that is occasionally
 ' sent to levy it. Both descriptions are, however, equally
 ' tribute, and neither is a fixed share of the produce.¹

In regard to the Rajpoot chiefs here spoken of under the
 general name of ' the grassias. Colonel Walker has the follow-
 ing — ' The power of life and death, and the administration of
 ' justice within their respective villages, are possessed by all,
 ' and it was never thought necessary to make reference to the
 ' authority of the superior government residing at the Kusbali
 ' of the pergunnah (or principal town of the district) in order
 ' to obtain leave for the punishment or to avert the effects of
 ' having punished a criminal or disobedient ryot. And also
 ' in the event of a crime against government being committed,
 ' it was usual to demand of the grassia whose ryot might
 ' have committed the act, that he should take the necessary
 ' measures for punishing the same. In respect to exterior
 ' relations, they appear to have exercised the same freedom.
 ' The external interests of such petty states could not have
 ' extended far and may be supposed confined in great measure
 ' to their own neighbourhood. But they enjoyed the right of
 ' peace and war with each other. They formed such con-
 ' nexions as might be necessary for the extension and security

¹ [See *Bo bay Ga ullee*, vii (Baroda) chapter viii, §§ 310 ff (Land
 Administration)]

'of their commerce ; they built fortifications and maintained troops. Nor does it appear that any of the states to whom they paid tribute ever interfered in their transactions, whether foreign or domestic, so long as they were not inimical to themselves. It is generally admitted that the payment of a tribute does not deprive the tributary of his independence.' . . .

'With their hereditary possessions also they receive a variety of seigniorial rights and privileges. The grāssīā proprietors of villages assign lands to Rajpoots and others for military services in the defence of themselves and property ; they call for the services of all the artificers of the village whenever they require them ; they possess the right to all trees which may fall down, although the produce may belong to the tenant who occupies the ground. Fees are paid to them for permission to contract a marriage, and some collections are made on the birth of their children ; they abate and increase the revenues they derive from their ryots at their own pleasure '

The principal source of revenue possessed by the chiefs was the share of the crops which they received in kind. In the case of garden crops, sugar-cane, cotton, tobacco, opium, and other crops, in regard to which it is difficult to make the kultur or assessment which has been described, they levied a money rent. They sometimes received a tax upon ploughs as part of their land revenue. Sometimes, where the share of the produce was small, they exacted a trifling money payment in compensation. When land was assigned to the cadets of a family, it was the practice in certain parts of the country that the chief retained the money payments, leaving only the share of produce to the cadet. Cultivators reclaiming land, instead of paying in kind, made for a few years only a small acknowledgment to the chief in money. The produce of all trees usually belonged to the chief, waifs and strays also belonged to him. He levied transit duties on traders' goods, taxes on liquor shops, and on tanners and curriers, which latter tax, however, was in compensation for the perquisite allowed to those trades of removing the hides of all animals which died in the village.

The tax on marriages was trifling, varying from one shilling to four shillings. The chief received all fines imposed for criminal offences and sometimes a fourth of the sum awarded in civil suits.

The whole administration of such parts of each district as were *ryotee* was confided by the Mahrattas, to a *kōmavishdār*, a collector or rather a farmer, of revenue. The residence of this person in the district was only temporary, he was at any time liable to be displaced by any other who was prepared to offer higher terms for the possession of his authority, it was therefore, his interest to accumulate as much money as possible, without reference either to the permanent revenue of the *pergunnah* or to the happiness of its inhabitants. One means of enriching himself was that of exacting fines for criminal offences and with no severer punishment, therefore, crimes of the most heinous and flagitious nature were passed over. Civil disputes which consisted principally of claims for the possession of land, for the recovery of debts or for the assertion of caste rules were under the government of these farmers, referred to arbitration, the *kōmāvishdār* interfering only by lending the aid of his authority for the enforcement of the award, and by appropriating to his own use a fourth of the sum awarded.

On the estates of the Rajpoot chieftains justice, both civil and criminal where it was administered at all was in the hands of the *grassias*. The influence of the *Bhatts* and *Chāruns* was very powerful and usually compelled the proper execution of engagements for the performance of which they were securities. Where they referred cases to arbitration, the conduct of the *grassias* contrasted very favourably with that of the *kōmavishdārs*. The chiefs levied only a very small sum from the disputants, which was proportioned to their means and was always appropriated to charitable purposes.¹

Justice was administered principally through a system of ordeals and oaths, which still remains in vogue, both in the

¹ *I*de Mr. Diggle's letter to Colonel Walker forming an Appendix to that officer's report. On the Company's late acquisitions in Goozerat from the Peshwah and Guikowār dated 18th June 1804. In regard to the last statement see however above.

crown-lands of the Guikowâr state and in the Moolukgeerte districts of Kâteewâr and the Myhee Kântâ. Whatever the evidence in his possession, the complainant, instead of using it, most frequently preferred compelling the defendant to undergo an ordeal or to take an oath, and the defendant, on the other hand often sought to anticipate his assailant by referring the matter through him to the same *judicium Dei*. Thus, the point in dispute was often determined by the success of one of the parties in putting the other upon his trial by oath or ordeal, for, especially in the case of persons of character, it was held more creditable to retire from the contest altogether than to maintain it upon the ordealistic ground. There is a description of the ordeal, which is remarkably consonant with existing practice in Renaudot's Arabian travellers. 'In the Indies,' say they, 'when one man accuses another of a crime punishable with death, it is customary to ask the accused if he is willing to go through the trial by fire; and, if he answers in the affirmative, they heat a piece of iron till it is red hot; this done, they tell him to stretch forth his hand, and, upon it, they put seven leaves of a tree they have in the Indies,¹ and upon these leaves they put the red hot iron, and, in this condition, he walks backwards and forwards for some time, and then throws off the iron. Immediately after this, they put his hand into a leathern bag, which they seal with the prince's signet; and if, at the end of three days, he appears and declares that he has suffered no hurt, they order him to take out his hand, when, if no sign of fire is seen, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the punishment which threatened him, and his accuser is condemned to pay a *man* of gold as a fine to the prince.

'Sometimes they boil water in a caldron till it is so hot that no one may approach it, then they throw an iron ring into it, and command the person accused to thrust his hand down, and bring up the ring. The accuser is in this case also to pay a *man* of gold.'

'In the vicinity of my village,' says a Goozeratee author of the present day, 'there is a tree called the "thief's limbaro,"

¹ The burr tree is the tree here alluded to. We have ourselves seen this ordeal employed. The leaves usually protect the person from injury.

' where the *hot bath* is administered to thieves. When a thief has been apprehended, or in any case where a dispute has occurred, and it cannot be ascertained who is the guilty party, then the *hot bath* is administered to either one or both of the disputants. Fifteen years ago the oath was administered to a goldsmith. I did not go myself to see what happened, but I heard the following account of it.—The Raja's Karbharee caused an iron ring to be heated at the "thief's tree," and ordered the Koolce, who was the goldsmith's opponent, to take it up. People say that the Koolce had bribed the Karbharee, so that, at the time of lifting the ring, the Koolce, worshipping the Sun, said, "O Sooruj, sire, if I am in the right save me!" and so saying he touched the ring with his hand, whereupon the Karbharee immediately exclaimed,

The Koolce has saved himself! Then, turning to the goldsmith, he said "If you are in the right, lift the ring." The goldsmith took off his turban and body coat, and went to a well, called the Gunga well, which is in that place, to perform ablutions. He became very sad, and considered within himself whether he should not jump into the well and give up his life. At that time a voice issued from the well, which said "Take courage!" Hearing this, the goldsmith looked up and around, but in that space he saw no one, so he considered that it must have been some *Dev* that ordered him to take courage. After ablutions he went out of the well somewhat reassured but when he looked at the ring, and saw how very hot it was his fears returned in full force. At that time, however, he perceived a train of ants passing over the ring which sight gave him some confidence. At last worshipping the Sun, he said, O father Sun, if I be in the right, protect me! so saying he took the ring out of the fire with his hand and placed it on his neck. Then the Karbharee said 'You have saved yourself, now throw the ring down,' but the goldsmith replied "No! let me go first to the Bacc Raj (or Thâkorine) and after that I will take off the ring." At that time, one of two shepherds, who were standing by took the ring off the goldsmith's neck with his staff. In the place where it fell upon the ground the dust began to be very much heated. Then they said to the

Koolee Put the ring in the same way on your neck ' but he was unable to lift it and his hand was found to have been burned and blistered from having touched it in the first instance, so the Koolee was pronounced to be in the wrong and the goldsmith in the right and a large number of villagers who had come to see the oath administered separated remarking sagely to each other that 'even in this Iron Age the Supreme Being has not deserted the earth'

Sometimes an iron chain or ball is used in the same way as the ring the accused being ordered to lift it, and sometimes he is directed to take a ring or three copper coins out of a vessel filled with heated oil. I have heard that a person, having professed his willingness to submit to the trial by ordeal a vessel of oil was heated and a cocoanut thrown therein to test the heat and that though this was immediately cracked the suspected person was enabled to prove his innocence by taking copper coins out of this hot oil which he said seemed to his touch to be cold water¹

At the village of Bhureead near Dholera there is the shrine of a very celebrated Mohammedan saint who is called Peer Bhureeadro to which many people are taken to be tried by ordeal. The defendant is compelled to put on a pair of iron fetters and is then directed to walk past the Peer's tomb. If the fetters fall off he is held to be cleared. I have heard that some contrivance is resorted to in the making of these fetters so that they may fall off.

Another kind of ordeal is used at Bhownager. There is a stone there with a hole in it through which if a suspected man can creep his character is held to be cleared, if he cannot he is pronounced to be a liar. The stone goes by the name of *the widow of truth and falsehood*²

The mode of administering the cold oath is this. The person swearing professes his readiness to take a flower off 'an image of Shiva' or to place his hand upon the foot of some

¹ See the extract from Sonnerat's travels descriptive of a feast of fire in honor of Dhurum Raj or Yoodishteer and Droupadee.—D'Oyley and Mant's *Bible note on Leviticus* cap. xvi. v. 21 [See L. D. Barnett *Antiquities of India* 1913 p. 197]

² I. de vol. 1 pp. 436-43

'Dev, if the opposite party agrees, then the defendant clears himself by taking an oath in this form. If it be wished to impose on a Hindoo a very binding cold oath, he is compelled to place his hand on the neck of a Brahmin, or if one still more stringent is called for, the swearer is required to touch with a knife the neck of a cow, the meaning being, that if he breaks the oath he incurs the sin of Brahmin, or cow murder. All these oaths are considered to possess great force, and they are only employed when the matter in dispute is of considerable importance, for smaller matters lesser oaths are used.

'A Brahmin swears by his juncee, or cord of regeneration, a Rajpoot by his sword, a Waneeco by *Sarda*, or *Suruswatee*, (by which he means *his account-book*), a cultivator swears by his bullock, a Mohammedan by some *rozah*, or the saint that dwells therein, a Shrawuk swears by his religion, or else says 'puchkand'. Many people swear by their sons, by *grun* by their hopes, by their youth, by their brothers, by their fathers or mothers, or by their eyes, they mean to imprecate upon themselves the loss of these in case of their breaking the oath. Women swear by their husbands and sons, a widow, when called upon to swear says, 'If I speak false, may I have the same fate for seven lives'. A Vaishnavite swears by his necklace an ascetic by his beads, an artificer by his craft, a sailor by the jewel mine—the sea, a wealthy man swears by *Lukshmee*, a school boy by *learning* (!). A goldsmith swears by *Matā* meaning any Devec but particularly *Doorga* in the form of "the lady of the tiger, but they get out of this oath (in the very spirit of the casuists) by saying they meant to swear by some stout man (*mato*). If a person swear by his ancestors, or by any deceased person, his oath is not accepted. Boys fancy that if they swear a false oath with the tongue between the front teeth (like the English school boys *over the left*) it is no matter. The person who swore a man for any particular purpose, may release him from his obligation by saying "The oath is void". In the small country villages a great deal of business is transacted on the faith of these oaths, and many people never make them falsely.'

There is another spot consecrated to Peer Bhurceādro, near Ahmednugger, in the Myhee Kāntā, at which people are tried by ordeal. A second mode of taking an oath by the Peer, is to lift one of the earthen toy-like horses, which are set before him by his votaries. Melūdee Mātā has a shrine near Kuree. The mode of swearing by her which is usually employed is that of raising in the hands a lighted lamp from before her image, and saying, 'If I speak falsely, may Melūdee Mātā take an answer from me in so many days!' At Dhuborā, near Sādrā, there is a temple of Hunoomān, who is here surnamed 'Dubhoreco.' If it be intended to swear a minor oath by this idol, the party merely touches its foot; if a more impressive oath is required, the swearer drinks a cup of Hunoomān's oil. At Shāmlājee, the mode of swearing is to take up a flower which has been offered to the god.

In the districts about Pāhlunpoor and Dīntā, the following is a common mode of settling disputes. The defendant goes to the bank of a river, or other place where there is sufficient water, attended by a friend, and accompanied by the plaintiff, who is armed with a bow and arrow. In order to clear himself, the defendant must keep his head under water for a sufficient time to allow of his friend's returning with an arrow which the plaintiff has shot from his bow.

Colonel Tod describes a stone similar to that at Bhownugger, but possessing powers still more extraordinary, which is to be found on the adjacent mountain of Shutroonjee. 'Near the Choree of Nemeenāth,' he says, 'there is a plain flat stone, having, about three feet above its insertion in the ground a square hole of fifteen inches diameter, called the *mookhlāra*, or "door of bliss," and whoever can so compress his body as to pass through this ordeal of purity, is sure of *behtitude* (*mookh*). Few of the sons of Mammon, who "lard the lean earth," can bear this test, unless they greatly mortify the flesh. Strange to say, there is a stone image of a camel, nearly as large as life, in juxtaposition with the "door of bliss," and as all these erect stones are termed *sula*, or "needle," our Scriptural text could not but suggest itself to the mind.'

There is another stone of the same kind at Dubhoree, which

bears the name of 'Māmā Dokuree,' and is mentioned by the author of the *Oriental Memoirs*

In all these modes of trial, and many others which are of daily use in different parts of Goozerat, the principle is the same. The judges tacitly admitting their incompetency to sit in judgment upon the accused, require him to pronounce upon his own guilt or innocence, by refusing or accepting the trial which is proposed to him. They are all of them, therefore, equally appeals to the *judicium Dei*—are, in fact, ordeals.¹

¹ William of Malmesbury mentions, as a proof of the sanctity of the 'old church of Glastonbury, 'that within the memory of man, all 'persons who, before undergoing the ordeal of fire or water, there put 'up their petitions, exulted in their escape one only excepted,' of whose case, however, he declines to inform us. If the assertion be a true one, we fear that the sanctity of this 'depository of so many saints' must occasionally have been prostituted to the support of falsehood.

Similar miracles were wrought at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury as we are told by a monkish historian who lived at the time of the Saint's martyrdom, and from whose work it may be gathered, that the royal officers had then frequent recourse to the trial by water ordeal. Two men 'he says, 'were impeached upon the Forest Act 'for stealing deer, and being tried by the water ordeal, one was cast, 'and hanged, the other, by invoking St. Thomas's intercession, escaped. 'Another, accused of having stolen a whet-stone and pair of gloves, 'was convicted by the water ordeal, and had his eyes dug out, and some 'of his members were cut off, but were perfectly restored to him by the 'intercession of the martyr, which he implored.'

It was not, therefore only upon special occasions that the ordeal was used in England—it was, in fact, the soul of the original Anglo-Saxon system of law,—the only species of trial which existed. Nor was it until the reign of Henry III, that the trial by ordeal was abolished. Up to that time it had been sanctioned by the clerical as well as the temporal rulers, both in England and Sweden, being performed, as we are told by Blackstone, only in the churches or other consecrated ground. Notwithstanding this fact, it appears, however that the church was mainly instrumental in the abolition, for we find royal letters of the third year of the reign of Henry, addressed to the itinerant judges of the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland and Westmoreland (the northern circuit of that day) announcing to them that because it was not determined previous to the opening of the circuit, what form of trial they should undergo who were charged with *robbery, murder, arson, and the like*, 'since the ordeal of fire and water had been prohibited by the Roman church, (cum prohibitum sit per ecclesiam Romanam judicium ignis et aquæ) it had been provided by the king in council that the judges should proceed in a particular manner then

Villagers were, by the custom of the country, held responsible for the value of property stolen within their limits, unless the footsteps of the robbers could be traced on to another place. It was, therefore, the duty of the police to keep watch throughout the day in the village lands, in order to prevent suspicious persons harbouring there. At break of day, they were further bound to examine and carefully preserve the marks of all unrecognized footsteps, which might have been imprinted during the preceding night, in order that, if called upon, they might be enabled satisfactorily to take up and carry on the traces.¹

laid down, in regard to persons accused of those crimes. About the same time King Valdemar II abolished the trial by ordeal in Denmark. Vestiges of the practice have, however, been traced by antiquaries in customs long afterwards used. Such was that of leaping over the fire on Midsummer Eve, a superstitious instance of agility, from which we are told grave clergymen had to be deterred by an interdiction of ecclesiastical authority. Such also were the long continued customs of swimming people suspected of witchcraft, or weighing them against the church Bible, of which former King James in his *Demonologie*, as quoted by Brand, observes that, 'it appears that God hath appointed 'for a supernatural signe of the monstrous impietie of witchcraft, that 'the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom that have shaken 'off them the sacred water of baptism, and wilfully refused the benefit 'thereof.' Such a relic, also, is probably the proverbial expression of *going through fire and water to serve any one*. A further relic of the ordeal has been noticed in the replication which a prisoner under indictment was called upon to make, that he would be tried *by God and the country*, or more properly *'by God or the country*, that is to say either by jury or by ordeal—the *judicium Dei*.

In our County Courts in England and Sheriff Courts in Scotland, where the case is often allowed to rest wholly or partly on the oath of the party, we have returned very much to the old ordeal trial.

'There are cases,' says that philosophic jurist, Bentham, 'in which 'no evidence can be had, in which plaintiff and defendant stand on 'their mere affirmation and denial. Ought the plaintiff to be denied 'the only means left,—an appeal to the conscience of his adversary? 'I answer, that, in all such cases (*and they are not instances of true judicial 'procedure, but of a sort of ordeal, similar to that of red hot iron or boiling 'water*), it would be much better,' &c.

¹ It is curious to notice the similarity between the state of things which we have thus described, and that which once existed in our own country. 'The criminal laws of the Anglo Saxons,' says Russell, in his *History of Modern Europe*, vol. 1, p. 53, 'as of most barbarous 'nations, were far from being severe, a compensation in money being

CHAPTER V

RAJPOOT LAND-TENURES UNDER THE BRITISH

IN a minute, dated 6th April, 1821,¹ Mr Elphinstone describes the effects of the introduction of British power into Goozerat. Each of the collectorates of Ahmedabad and Kaira into which the British territory north of the Nijhce is divided, contains, he says, 'two sorts of villages, *Khālsā* and *Grāssā*,' the former being those which had been immediately managed by the Mogul and Maliratta governments, and the latter those which had been subject to the hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs. 'The former are directly under the government, the latter are held by a *grassia* chief, to whom the government looks for revenue, and formerly looked for maintaining order. The most striking division of the *grassia* villages is into those held by Rajpoots or *grassias*, properly so called and those held by Koolcees, generally termed *Mecās*. The former, though foreigners, were in possession of Goozerat when the Mohummedans invaded it, they retained some talooks (lordships) and villages at that time, and they recovered others by encroachment on the final weakness of the Moguls. They are at once a more civilised and a more warlike race than the Koolcees, and it is, perhaps, owing to these circumstances, as well as to their having more recently possessed the government of the province, that their claims appear to be much more respected than those of the Koolcees. The latter, though probably the aborigines, seem generally to be considered as rebellious or at least refractory, villagers who have, from the weakness of former governments, eluded or resisted the just claims of the sirkar (government). Both pay a sum to government, which government appears to have had the

¹ For which see *Selection of Papers from the Records at the East India House, &c.*, printed by order of the Court of Directors in 1826 vol iii, pp 677 to 697. The compiler states that 'the original is in many places obscure and defective'. We have, therefore, had the less hesitation in restoring the correct names where these were apparent.

'right to increase It was not usual to interfere with the
 'internal management of their villages or to examine the
 'state of their receipts Our government has asserted the
 'right without always assuming the exercise of internal inter-
 'ference, but it is only of late that it has begun to inquire
 'into the collections by establishing tulitees (subordinate
 'revenue collectors) in grassia and Mewas villages The whole
 'of the pergunnahs of Dhundhooka Ranpoor, and Gogo,
 'except the kushbas (or chief towns), are in the hands of
 'grassia Rajpoots as is a considerable part of Dholka, there
 'were also a few in Veerungam which have been swallowed
 'up during the exactions of the Mahrattas The kushitees
 'of Dholka though Mussulmans and the chief of Patree
 'though a Koonbee and though both differ from the others
 'in the nature of their tenure may yet be reckoned in this
 'class but by far the greater number are Rajpoots They
 'resemble their neighbours and brethren in Jhalawar, but are
 'more intelligent and respectable The chiefs of Lamree and
 'Bhownugger are among the number of our subjects in those
 'districts though they have large possessions elsewhere
 'They are all quiet and obedient Tulatees have been intro-
 'duced into the villages of those of Dholka and all their
 'revenue but twenty per cent of their own share after
 'deducting that of the ryots is now levied by government
 'The police also has either been committed to mookhee
 'putels (or village head men) in a manner independent of
 'their authority, or left in their own hands subject to all
 'restrictions of that humble officer of the police The others
 'are still on their former footing as to revenue, but they are
 'under the Adawlut (or Court of Justice) and are either
 'themselves agents of the magistrate, or are superseded by
 'their putels The principal Mewasees are the Koolcees of
 'the Choonwal and those of the Purantej Hursole and
 'Morasa districts The former are quite reduced have
 'received tulitees and pay all their revenue but twenty five
 'per cent, but the latter maintain their independence, and
 'in some instances their rebellious and predatory spirit

'The most striking circumstances in the progress of our
 government are the extraordinary obstacles that existed to

‘introducing order, and the surprising success with which
‘they have been overcome. The continual intermixture of
‘our territories with those of the Guikowâr, the Peshwah,
‘the Nowaub of Cambay, and the unsettled tributaries of
‘Kâteewâr and the Myhee Kântâ, the number of half-sub-
‘dued grâssîas and Mewâsees within our own limits, the
‘numerous and ill-defined tenures in almost every village, and
‘the turbulent and predatory character of a large proportion
‘of the people, combined to make the country beyond the
‘Myhee more difficult to manage than any part of the Com-
‘pany’s territories; yet, by the caution of government and
‘the judgment and temper of the local officers, our authority
‘and our system have been established with the utmost tran-
‘quillity, without either irritating our subjects or embarrassing
‘ourselves by any sudden or violent changes. Of late years
‘our innovations have been proceeding with accelerated pro-
‘gress; and although the danger of hasty improvement is
‘now diminished, it may still be necessary to retard their
‘advance, or at least fix the limit beyond which it is not
‘designed they should extend.

‘When we first obtained the pergunnahs forming the old
‘Kaira collectorship, the whole were put in charge of Colonel
‘Walker, and managed by his assistants; everything was left
‘entirely on its old footing, and nothing was done but to
‘gain some information regarding the actual condition of
‘things. When regular collectors were appointed, the same
‘system was for a long time pursued.

‘The only change in the revenue department attempted
‘among the grâssîas was the increase to their tribute, to which
‘they were at all times liable; but the principles of a tribute
‘were observed as long as they were under Kaira, and with
‘the single and temporary exception of Bâpoo Meeâ, Kusbâtec
‘of Dholka, no scrutiny was attempted into their resources or
‘management.

‘The introduction of the judicial regulations was certainly
‘a great innovation, and was very early adopted; but it
‘seems doubtful whether the effect was soon felt. It is not
‘likely that many of the inhabitants of the grâssîa villages
‘came to our courts to complain; and where the plaintiff

' belonged to a lūlsī village it would be thought natural and
' proper for government to interfere in his behalf

' The first changes that were much felt were produced by
' the regulations for the appointment of mookhee putels and
' of tulatees, particularly the latter. The grāssīs who held
' more villages than one were compelled to appoint mookhee
' putels, who from the time of their appointment became
' responsible to the magistrate alone. Those who had one
' village were themselves appointed mookhee putels, in other
' cases they were obliged to nominate another person for each
' village who was responsible to the magistrate and not to the
' grāssīs. Tulātees were introduced into all the villages of
' the grāssīs of Dholkā and it was proposed to introduce
them into all the grāssī villages in Dhundhookā, Ranpoor,
' and Gogo. A further change has taken place in the alteration
' of the principle of the Dholkā payments from a tribute paid
to government to a certain proportion of the produce left
' to the grāssīs and that proportion is only twenty per cent
' of the government share from which all village expenses
' including tulātees pay, are to be defrayed

' The effect of this change on the income of the chiefs is
' shewn by the payments of the three principal grāssīs to
which I have added the two chief Kusbātees, though their
situation is somewhat different

	1802	1817	1840
	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>
The Chief of Kot	48,000	57 000	72,000
The Chief of Gangur	15 500	19 000	23 000
The Chief of Oontelcey	8 000	6 000	11 000
Bapoo Meera Kusbātee	50 000	73 000	89 000
Luteef Khan Kusbātee	11 000	13 000	16 000

' Their payments especially those of the grāssīs, have
' greatly increased and more within the last three years than
' in the preceding fifteen

' The appointment of a tulātee is very disagreeable to the
' chiefs and those of Dholkā assured me that they felt the
' presence of that officer more than the increase of their
' tribute. They said he assumed the character of a repre

'sentative of government, received complaints from their
'ryots threw their whole village into confusion, and utterly
'destroyed their consequence among their people

'The Adwlt, also, as we came into closer contact with the
'chiefs, has been more felt, and we have reason to regret that
'some modifications were not made in our code before it was
'applied to a people in a state of society so different from that
'which our laws contemplate, and employed to enforce agree-
'ments concluded at a time when the strict execution of them
'was so little foreseen, the Raja of Kot, who, at the time of
'Colonel Walker's report in 1804, maintained a body of 150
'horse, and 2000 seebundees, was sent to prison for neglecting
'a summons from a magistrate, and the chief of Patree, who
'once resisted for two months the attacks of the Guikowar
'army, was thrown into jail for his inability to pay debts con-
'tracted in consequence of war and contributions during the
period of his independence I cannot more strongly shew the
'change that has taken place than by pointing out that these
'are the persons whom Colonel Walker, and I believe all the
'gentlemen employed in the first introduction of our authority,
'declared to be *sovereign princes*, with whom we had no right
'to interfere beyond the collection of a tribute, and that they
'are now deprived of all power and consequence, and nearly
'the whole of their revenue Almost all these changes have,
'in effect, taken place within these three years They cannot
'but feel a change so sudden, and it must be owned that they
'have suffered hardships, though not perhaps injustice'

Whether the Rajpoot chiefs were or were not treated with
justice is a point upon which Mr Elphinstone appears to
hesitate Had the great literary task of that eminent man
been completed, as all must so much desire that it had been,
the historian of India might, perhaps have pronounced upon
a question which the Governor of Bombay was reluctant to
decide Under present circumstances we can but conjecture
what the causes of his hesitation may have been

In regard to the jurisdiction of the local chiefs, the British
government had at least acted inconsistently When, in 1802,
they accepted the cession of the territory of Dholera, forming
part of the pergunnah or district of Dhundhooka, then subject

to the Peshwah and in the face of the Mahratta prince's rights hoisted their flag therein as sovereigns they not only assented to but positively asserted that which they so often afterwards denied—the sovereign rights of the local chieftains. Thirteen years afterwards however when the jurisdiction of the Râwul of Bhownugger in the pergunnah of Gogo now ceded to them by the Mahrattas was in question they endeavoured to prove by laboured but untenable historical arguments that that chief had been entitled to exercise no jurisdiction therein. The general question was confused by an unnecessary and impracticable attempt to maintain it as a fact that the state of subordination which we wished to establish had actually existed under the now fallen governments of the Mohummedans and the Mahrattas. Upon this point the preceding pages will enable the reader to form his own opinion. Perhaps he will agree with us that 'the hand of conquest' had not reached so far as was now maintained, and that the *Bhoomee* chiefs though rendered tributary, had many of them preserved their local authority. We cannot however regard the *Rajpoot* chiefs in the light of sovereign princes at least in any sense of that term which would not be equally applicable to the Celtic chiefs of the Scottish Highlands nor do we regard the annulment of their seigniorial rights as in itself an act of injustice any more than we so regard the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland. The Sultans of Ahmedabad and still more the Emperors of Delhi exercised a supremacy over the Hindoo princes perhaps at least as great as was ever maintained by the House of Stuart in Cromarty or in Argyle. And in the prosperous days of Unhulpoor there can be no doubt of the supreme power of the sovereign.

It is at least manifest that the feudal power of the local chiefs within the British territory could not have been long preserved. It was not in Goozerat alone of the provinces of Hindoostan that the banner of the golden leopards was displayed in assertion of sovereignty and when the descendants of Secvaje and of Teimoor had alike succumbed it was not to be expected that a greater antiquity in their title or a still more evident inferiority in their power should long preserve others

Besides the victory which democratic tendencies had gained within the conquering nation itself, could not have failed sooner or later to influence the conquered the tempest which had broken upon the cliffs of England was sure before long to make itself felt in the higher rising of the surges which rolled upon the beach of Soreth, and the Waghela of Sanund and the Gohil of Peerum could not hope to escape the arm which had rest their hereditary power from McKenzie and McShumei. Where royal power has ceased to exist there royal rights also must be admitted to have perished and a great supremacy must necessarily extinguish petty jurisdictions as the sun does a little fire.

When however we regard particular cases the grounds of Mr. Liphinstone's hesitation more plainly appear. We may take as an example the fortunes of the Raja of Kot or Sanund, a chief who was the heir of Jeto or Ujtra Singh Waghela and the presumed descendant if not the representative of Raja Kurun the last of the sovereigns of Lohulpoor. It may be excusable to repeat here the exact words of Colonel Walker's testimony regarding his principality — The Mewas villages (of Dholka) he says are in a state of independence and 'pay with difficulty their contribution of *ghānsdān*. This 'is obtained or fixed by a large military force or by a nego- 'tiation with the chiefs who are concerned which generally 'secures them an abatement. Some of these chiefs are 'grasshops of more or less influence but the chief of Kot 'assumes the title of Raja and is said to claim a very high 'descent. Each of these chieftains has a certain number of 'armed followers, who attend him voluntarily and subsist on 'his bounty or on the fruits of their mutual plunder. But 'the Kot Raja has in his service a force of two thousand 'seebundees (or irregular infantry) and one hundred and 'fifty horsemen who mount guard at his village and who are 'engaged to defend his person or to wage hostilities like the 'troops of a sovereign prince. The village of Kot is not 'fortified but it is in the middle of jungle and surrounded 'by fastnesses. The Kot Wāla (the Raja) has under his juris- 'diction twenty four villages and pays generally a jumma of 'Rs 12 723 yearly, but this varies according to circumstances.

The Mewasees according to the Mahratta term, are so powerful in Dholka that they are nearly on the footing of Moolukgeeree tributaries and required an annual *arma* ment to obtain payment of their *jumma* or *ghansdhan*. If the troops were numerous the harvest ensued immediately and the contribution was fixed on an increased ratio. If on the other hand the force employed was not very strong a skirmish ensued and whatever might be its issue, the resistance was thought honorable to the Mewas and after the subjection of their country to pillage the affair ended in a composition for more or less according to circumstances.

There was in fact an almost imperceptible distinction between the Moolukgeeree tributaries and such chiefs as those above mentioned who paid not a revenue but a tribute and that only under the pressure of a military force. The fate of the two classes of chiefs was however widely different. Had the lordship of Sanund been situated a few miles farther to the west and beyond the line which separated the *pergunnah* of Dholka from the neighbouring Moolukgeeree country of *Kateewar* the hereditary jurisdiction and honors of the chief would have been preserved to him and his tribute perhaps slightly increased would have been fixed at a permanent rate for all future time. *It can hardly then be wondered at that with a tribute raised in the course of a few years from Rs 43 000 to 72 000 with dependents of his own lording it over him almost in his own mansion as the agents of an all powerful foreign domination deprived as Mr Elphinstone says of all power and consequence and nearly the whole of his revenue, and actually sent to jail for disobedience to a summons the purport of which he probably very imperfectly understood the descendant of the royal house of Unhulpoor should complain of injustice as well as of hardship and envy the happier fate of the former vassals of his family the neighbouring Jhala chief trains of Lamree and Wudwan who had by better fortune fallen under the Mahratta instead of the British rule.*

It would require a far more extended discussion than we have space for and would weary the patience of our readers were we to pursue this subject in detail. We therefore allude to merely one or two points. There appears to have been no

sufficient distinction drawn between such mere leaseholds as those of the Dholka Kusbatees and the permanent titles of the Rajpoot cluistains to their lands,—titles of which Colonel Walker had with much truth said, that ‘they are derived to their possessors by hereditary descent from a period of the most remote antiquity, of which there is no record, but they are secured to them by universal assent, and are at this day unimpured in their privileges. These rights, which have been maintained by arms and an unconquerable sentiment in favor of them, have withstood the revolutions of ages, and outlived the Mohammedan dominion, which did everything in its power to subvert them.’

The government of Bombay,¹ in speaking of the tenures of the Jhireja grassias, supply a very clear description of the position of a Rajpoot cadet. ‘The Jhirejas of Anjar,’ they say, ‘are the direct descendants of the younger brothers of former Rows, who have had gras assigned to them, which has in the course of years been divided and subdivided among their numerous descendants. They are lords of their *Iurum bhāg*,² or share, which they possess by right of birth, and originally paid no pecuniary acknowledgment to the Row, but their services in times of general danger have always been considered as one of the terms on which they held their gras, and whenever the Bhyud have assembled, they received an allowance of grain for their horses, and food and opium for themselves. The quantity of land assigned to them for their exclusive benefit and which they hold rent free, provided they cultivate it themselves, is designated *grāssā orega*, and is called in Goozerat, *jeevāce* (that is, “a subsistence”), but if cultivated by the ryots, it is subject to a veera, or tax, to the government, the grassia receiving a rent as proprietor of the land.’

Numerous instances of this state of things have been given in the course of the present work, and surely if there be such a thing as a right to landed property in the world (which some,

¹ Vide Revenue Letter from Bombay, of 31st May, 1818 p 750 vol. iii, of the *Select on of Iajers*

² An expression which literally means, ‘Destiny share,’—‘the share which fortune has assigned.’

‘ The Mewasees according to the Mahratta term, are so powerful in Dholka that they are nearly on the footing of Moolukgeeree tributaries, and required an annual *‘arma* ment to obtain payment of their *jumma*, or *ghansdhina*. If the troops were numerous, the harvest ensued immediately, and the contribution was fixed on an increased ratio. If, on the other hand, the force employed was not very strong, a skirmish ensued, and whatever might be its issue, the resistance was thought honorable to the Mewas, and after the subjection of their country to pillage the affair ended in a composition for more or less according to circumstances.’

There was in fact an almost imperceptible distinction between the Moolukgeeree tributaries and such chiefs as those above mentioned who paid not a revenue but a tribute, and that only under the pressure of a military force. The fate of the two classes of chiefs was however, widely different. Had the lordship of Sanund been situated a few miles farther to the west, and beyond the line which separated the pergunnah of Dholka from the neighbouring Moolukgeeree country of Kateewar, the hereditary jurisdiction and honors of the chief would have been preserved to him, and his tribute, perhaps slightly increased, would have been fixed at a permanent rate for all future time. It can hardly then be wondered at that, with a tribute raised in the course of a few years from Rs 13 000 to 72 000 with dependents of his own lording it over him almost in his own mansion as the agents of an all powerful foreign domination deprived, as Mr Elphinstone says ‘of all power and consequence, and nearly the whole of his revenue,’ and actually sent to jail for disobedience to a summons the purport of which he probably very imperfectly understood the descendant of the royal house of Unlulpoor should complain of injustice as well as of hardship and envy the happier fate of the former vassals of his family, the neighbouring Jhala chiefs of Limree and Wulwan who had by better fortune, fallen under the Mahratta, instead of the British rule.

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we are aware, will hardly admit) it is difficult to make out a better title to land than that which was thus possessed by the grassias of Goozerat. The Court of Directors, however, thought differently. They considered the lands of the Jhareja grassias to be held simply 'on condition of service'. 'The decision upon these rights,' they say, 'is involved in the same difficulties as that upon the grants on account of services in other parts of India, when the services are no longer required. These grants we think, ought not to amount to absolute property, and when the services cease to be performed or cease to be required, the case is open to the decision of government.'

The Bombay despatch had only stated that service was 'one of the terms' upon which the grassias held their lands, and the history of our own country would hardly lead to the conclusion that lands possessed hereditarily on tenure of military service could be considered to have escheated solely on the ground that the service was no longer required by the crown. It is more to the purpose however, to observe that the practice of Goozerat was certainly very different, and that the rights of the grassias were by no means dependent upon the pleasure of the sovereign in regard to their employment in his military array.

'The right of government,' says the Court of Directors, in A. D. 1819, 'to increase the sulumce,¹ or tribute, payable by the grassias is, in our apprehension very clearly established. This right would indeed, naturally arise out of the decision previously passed on the question of sovereignty, which has been determined to vest solely in the Company, to the utter exclusion of the pretensions set forth by the grassias Bheels and Koolces. The effect of that decision was to place these classes on the same footing as other subjects and consequently to render their property liable to a proportionate share of the public burden in all cases where a special exemption from or limitation of demand on the part of the sovereign power, either for a term of years or in perpetuity cannot be pleaded against such liability.' The right of increasing the grassia

¹ For the Mohammedan account of the origin of this tribute see p. 271, where the terms *sulḥ* and *ḥadid* are explained.

occasioned by an incomplete appreciation of the distinction between tenures which, though both passing under the name of *gras*, were entirely opposite in their nature and origin. 'The *'alienations,'* it is said *'in behalf of the grassias and those other tribes who have proceeded by forcible methods, appear to have been either granted in former times by the government as a retaining fee for military services no longer required of them, or to be usurpations perpetrated upon the people, who thus endeavoured to purchase exemption from the depredations which these fighting tribes were in the habit of practising upon them. We cannot but look upon all their acquisitions with an unfavourable eye, and though we can easily conceive that considerations of expediency may forcibly recommend forbearance we shall always rejoice when the extent of their possessions is diminished.'*

Considerations of justice and fairness apart much no doubt, may be said against the local chieftains, their utility, it may be urged had passed away, their *'services'* were *'no longer required'*, they were as little likely to be reclaimed from their slothfulness and indisposition to the arts of peace, as they were to accept of the discipline which would have rendered them once again valuable in the day of war. It must, however be recollected that experienced officers have been found to maintain, even at the present day, that the internal tranquillity of Goozerat has suffered in consequence of the diminution of that influence which the sons of the Kshutrees had so long maintained against such fearful odds, it is by no means certain that under more generous treatment the character of the grassias might not have improved and even in these days the opinion is not wholly without supporters which considers that a body of landlords commanding respect from their hereditary title, may be a valuable bulwark to their land. However these things may be it must at least, be permitted to a lover of his country, to regret that the introduction of British power into Goozerat should have been attended with such well founded causes of complaint to any portion of the inhabitants, as those which it certainly afforded to the descendants of Ujitra Singh Waghela or Mokherajee Gohil.

The opinions above expressed, in favor of the local chieftains,

are not at variance with those which Mr. Elphinstone appears to have held. He proposed to remove the tulitees at Dholka, to fix the payments of the grâssis, so as to leave them thirty per cent. instead of twenty on the government share, subject to a quinquennial revision on the same principle; he recommended that certain personal immunities should be granted to the grâssis, in their relation to the courts of justice; and urged, 'that all claims against them for old debts, even if supported by bonds, should be examined, with reference to all circumstances arising from the situation of the parties at the time when they were contracted, by which the nature of the debts might be affected; and that, instead of seizing and confining the persons of the grâssis, the judges should issue a precept to the collector to sequester as large a portion of the lands as might suffice for the gradual payment of the debt, leaving a decent maintenance to the grâssiâ.' Mr. Elphinstone further advised, 'that the grâssiâ should be employed as head of the police wherever he conveniently could, and that he should have no formal appointment of mookhee putel, a title which a Rajpoot chief must look on as a degradation.'

In regard to the Mewâsees (which term he appears to confine to the Koolee chieftains), the recommendations of Mr. Elphinstone proceed still further, and to the full extent of the sketch which we have drawn in speaking of the affairs of the Wâghelâ chieftain. 'It appears,' says the governor, 'that there is no trace in history of their (the Mewâsees) ever having been on a footing of greater dependence than they are at present; and it follows that we have derived no claim to reduce them further from our predecessors, and must rest our right to do so on the law of nature, which entitles us to control our neighbours as far as is required by our own security; and this ought, therefore, to be the limit of our interference. Considering the want of military force in the territory, it is surprising how little trouble the Mewâsees have given us since we first came into Goozerat; and it would be equally inconsistent with justice and policy to risk this tranquillity for a little addition to the revenue, or a fancied improvement in the police. That the improvement would be real, I think more than doubtful; for, unless where Koolées have acquired

'habits of industry and order, they can only be restrained by
 'rendering the communities to which they belong responsible
 'for their conduct, and, if we could quietly succeed in
 'bringing each individual under the direct operation of our
 'police the effect, I doubt not, would be a great increase of
 'robberies I would, therefore, propose that, in the Mewasee
 'villages, we should hold the Thikor responsible for the
 'tribute and for the maintenance of the public tranquillity.
 'He might be required to give security, if necessary, and
 'should be required to restore stolen property, and to give up
 'offenders but he should be under none of the regulations
 'applicable to mookhee putels and it should rest with the
 'magistrate what offences to notice in his village All serious
 'crimes ought, of course, to be noticed and the criminal
 'should be demanded of the Thikor The demand should be
 'enforced by a mohsul and a daily fine Obstinate neglect
 'might be punished by apprehending the Thikor, and re-
 'sistance by attacking him as a public enemy Complaints
 'of a serious nature against the Thikor personally, should be
 'investigated in a summary way by the collector, before he
 'proceeded to apprehend the accused, when it became neces-
 'sary to apprehend him, he should be made over to the
 'criminal judge in the usual manner Thikors habitually
 'guilty of connivance at plunder, might be deposed and im-
 'prisoned, the office of chief being made over to another
 'member of the family, or their villages might be garrisoned
 'by troops and deprived of all Mewasee privileges

'No tulātees should be appointed and the tribute should be
 'kept nearly stationary A small increase might be put on
 'suitable cases to preserve the right of the government, but,
 'in general the greatest profit should be left to the villages,
 'to encourage their attending to agriculture Civil justice
 'ought, in most cases to be allowed to take its course but, in
 'some villages, it would be expedient for complaints to be
 'made, in the first instance to the magistrate who might de-
 'cide whether to send them to the courts or to settle them by
 'punchayets, supported by mohsuls'

We must here take leave of the subject, to which we have
 already devoted more space than we can well afford though

far too little for its real importance. The practical value of Mr. Elphinstone's counsel has, we may remind our readers, by no means passed away at the present time, for the hour must come, be it sooner or later, when portions of the province of Goozerat, wherein grássiás and Mewásees still exist, with influence not much impaired and habits but little altered, shall necessarily pass under the direct dominion of the British government.

It is satisfactory to observe that if one portion of the inhabitants of Goozerat was subjected to hardship as the result of the introduction of British rule, other and more numerous sections of the people were largely the gainers. 'It is not to be supposed,' says Mr. Elphinstone, 'that my stay in these zillahs could enable me to form any opinion of the real condition of the people. The facts that present themselves on a hasty view are that the grássiás are weakened and depressed; that the Desáees and all the hereditary officers, including the patels, are stripped of power and influence, and given security of persons and property in exchange; that the bankers are deprived of one large branch of their profits by the change in our system of revenue, and of another by the decline of commerce, occasioned by the downfall of so many native states, and the equal diffusion of property; that the Bháts, once so important in Goozerat, are now almost too insignificant to mention, and that the ryots have gained much wealth, comfort, and security among all the sufferers. Those engaged in commerce, and perhaps the grássiás, are the only classes that give rise to regret. There are no hereditary chiefs, no established military leaders, and no body of men that claimed (s o.) respect from even an apparent devotion to learning or religion. The property of those who have suffered was built upon the depression of the people, and their fall has been compensated by the rise of the ryots, the most numerous, most industrious, and most respectable part of the community. To that order our government has, beyond all doubt, been a blessing. It has repelled predatory invasion, restrained intestine disorder, administered equal and impartial justice, and has almost extirpated every branch of exaction and oppression. The appearance of the country

‘on this side of the Silhermuttee, which has been long in our possession, is what might be expected in such circumstances. The former affluence of the upper classes is apparent in the excellence of their houses; and the prosperity of the ryots appears in the comfort of their dwellings, the neatness of their dress, and the high cultivation of their lands. In the fertility and improvement of the fields, there are many parts of the Bengal provinces which cannot be surpassed; but in the abundance of trees and hedges, in handsome and substantial well built villages, and in the decent and thriving appearance of the people, I have seen nothing in India that can bear a comparison with the eastern *zillah* of Goozerat.’

In order to understand the improvement which had taken place in the position of the ryot or cultivator, we must see what that was under the native rule. Colonel Walker presents us with a description, which we quote, simply premising that a similar state of things to that which he portrays exists at the present hour in parts of Goozerat which are not under the direct authority of the British government. ‘The proprietors (of alienated lands),’ says Colonel Walker, ‘possess the right of assessing the ryots, and of leasing their lands to the best advantage. They appear to exercise the same rights in this respect as a proprietor in Europe, but their rate of assessment is commonly under that of the government. It does not appear that the government interferes in this matter, but it is well understood that in the case of oppression on the one part, or of misdememeanor on the other, either party has a right to complain and the ryot, if he dislikes the terms of his landlord may remove into another district. This is the usual resource, and the whole of the inhabitants of a village, or that part of them which may be aggrieved, whether on private lands or holding from the government, will remove into another district, and accept of new lands there, or remain until they receive redress and have obliged the landholders to accede to their terms. To prevent these emigrations the *Komivishdârs* sometimes agree among themselves not to afford those who quarrel with their landlords any employment within their districts, but it happens as frequently that they are ready to take advantage of their ill treatment and

to avail themselves of their services. It may be here remarked that even the ryot or cultivator of government land has rights by prescription, and to deprive him of the spot which he or his family had long cultivated would be considered as an arbitrary act, unauthorized by law, or custom, which is the same thing; such ejectments therefore seldom happen.

The security which the ryot possessed lay, practically, in the fact that his caste fellows were sure to espouse his cause, and that his landlord could not expel him, because he dare not venture upon an act which might cause them also to retire; the state of things was represented by the eastern proverb already quoted—'In the multitude of people is the king's honor, but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince.' Under the British rule, however, the ryot was not only protected from foreign invasion and intestine disorder, but was actually vested with (what he never possessed before) a proprietary right to the land which he occupied, which he might now sell without the consent of his so called landlord, and from which the government itself had no power to eject him as long as he continued to pay his rent.

Another institution of their British rulers was not so favorable in its action upon the cultivating population, while it mitigated in no slight degree the disadvantages under which the commercial, which were also the usurious, classes had fallen. The premature introduction of a judicial system, founded upon European maxims produced evil effects, which, as we have already seen were deprecated by Mr Elphinstone. Four years afterwards (in A D 1825) they were thus vividly depicted by one who (as far at least as his position was concerned), may be called a still more impartial observer,—Bishop Heber. 'The greatest evil of the land here (in Gozerat)'

¹ [Bishop Reginald Heber (1783-1826) was appointed Bishop of Calcutta in 1823 and died of apoplexy in the swimming bath at Trichinopoly in 1826. His *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, here quoted appeared posthumously in 1828. The two final Appeal Courts the *Sadr Duni Adalat* for civil cases and the *Sadr Nazimat Adalat* for criminal cases dated from the days of Warren Hastings. Side by side with these Lord North's Regulating Act (1773) established a Supreme Court. In the *Sadr Adalats* and other courts

says Heber, 'as elsewhere in India, is the system of the Adawlut courts, their elaborate and intricate machinery, their intolerable and expensive delays, and the severity of their debtor and creditor laws. Even in the Adawlut, however, a very essential improvement had been introduced by Mr Elphinstone in discarding the Persian language, and appointing all proceedings to be in that of Goozerat. Still there remained many evils, and in a land so eaten up by poverty on the one hand and usury on the other, the most calamitous results continually followed and the most bitter indignation was often excited by the judgments, ejectments, and other acts of the court which though intended only to do justice between man and man yet frequently depopulated villages, undid ancient families pulled down men's hereditary and long possessed houses over their heads and made the judges hated and feared by the great body of the people as practising severities in the recovery of private debts which none of the native governors, however otherwise oppressive, either ventured to do or thought of doing. One good effect has indeed followed that by making a debt more easy to recover, the rate of interest has been lessened. But this is a poor compensation for the evils of a system which to pay a debt, no matter how contracted strips the weaver of his loom the husbandman of his plough and pulls the roof from the castle of the feudal chieftain and which when a village is once abandoned by its inhabitants in a time of famine, makes it next to impossible for those inhabitants who are all more or less in debt to return in better times to their houses and lands again.

of the Company, the judges knew nothing of English Law and were required by executive order to proceed according to equity justice and good conscience unless Hindu or Mohammedan Law was in point or some Regulation expressly applied. In the Supreme Court the civil and criminal law administered was English as also was the procedure followed. These two judicial systems were therefore antagonistic. *Imperial Gazetteer* (1907), iv, 145. The confusion was finally remedied by the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, which amalgamated the Supreme and Sadr Courts of each Presidency. Fortes afterwards himself a Judge of the Adalat Court in Bombay, often complains of the evils of the old system.]

No less disastrous results might perhaps have been expected from the attempt to mould all at once the habits of the torrid zone into those of 'this nook shotten isle of Albion' and to apply without an intermediate step institutions which suited the subjects of George IV to a state of society bearing so much more near a resemblance to that of the reign of Alfred

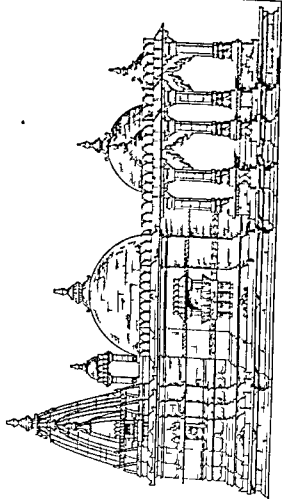
CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS SERVICES—FESTIVALS

IN order to explain more readily the common form of a Hindoo temple, we resort once more to illustration. The adytum containing the object of worship is invariably covered with a 'shikur' or bell shaped spire, the mundup or ante chamber is open and contains in temples of Shiva a figure of the attendant bull Nundee. Vaishnavite temples especially *have frequently two ante chambers in which case the first is open and the second closed.* These as also the temples of the Jain religion have occasionally three spires the centre one rather higher than the other two. The temple is surrounded by a Dhurumsil or house of accommodation for attendants and worshippers. The surrounding structure is however still sometimes especially in Jain temples formed of numerous small spire covered shrines and the lodging houses are in that case detached but the whole mass of buildings is frequently encircled by a fortified wall. A large temple presents in fact the appearance of a village the auxiliary buildings look like substantial private houses but are more liberally adorned with carved woodwork, and sometimes nearly the whole exterior of them is covered with rude paintings representing marriages or other domestic festivals or more frequently the achievements of the gods. Small reservoirs of water called koonds circular wells and more imposing wavs or bowlees and sometimes majestic tanks are the more or less indispensable accompaniments of places dedicated to the religion of the Hindoos. Like the Christian churches of the middle ages the Hindoo temples of Goozerat are usually placed in situations highly favoured by nature. The awful gloom of the grove the romantic beauty of the mountain glen the brightness of the rivers bank the wildness of the cloud enveloped peak or the solemn calm of the ocean bay are accessories of which the religions of Shiva and of Adecnath know full well how to avail.

The officiating priests are in the temples of Shiva usually Gosaces, in those of Vishnoo, Brahmins or Wairagees in

FIG II



PLAN OF A HINDOO TEMPLE WITH TWO MUNDUIS

Deves' temples, low caste Brahmins or Gosaces—sometimes, as in the case of Boucherjee, even Mohummedans. The priest in a Jain temple may be of any caste, with the curious provision that he be not a Shrivuk, or layman of that religion. Low-caste Brahmins, especially the class called Bhujuk, who have already been mentioned, are frequently employed. The Gosaces are members of a monastic order which follows Shiva. They wear orange tawny clothes, and the *teeluk*,¹ or sectarian mark upon their foreheads, is horizontal. The *Wairdjee* is a Vaishnavite monk, and wears a white dress and a perpendicular *teeluk*. Those who are servants of the Deves add to the *teeluk* a *chândlo* or red spot, made with a preparation of turmeric. The Jain monk is commonly called a *Juttee*, but the general name applying to all these orders is that of *Sunyadsee*, or anchorite. The Sunyasees are now for the most part persons who have lost their property, have been deprived of their children, or suffered some other calamity, against which they have not had resolution to bear up. The intended recluse having arranged with a *gooroo*, or monkish dignitary, for his reception into the order, and having ascertained the favourable day by astrological calculation breaks the sacred cord, if he be of the regenerate classes, removes the hair of his head, assumes the monastic dress, and with alms and prayers receives initiation. Sunyasees are, however sometimes consecrated at an early age, a person who despairs of having children not unfrequently vows to consecrate one son, if two be granted to his prayers, and among the Jains when disciples are scarce as they frequently are, the monks purchase children for the purpose of initiating them.²

¹ Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead nor *put any marks upon you* I am the Lord —Leviticus xix. 28. Bishop Patrick notes that this mingling of marks or signatures was understood to be fixing a badge or characteristic of the persons being devoted to some false deity.

² The following is the account given of himself by Gosace Shumbhoo poorce "one of the ascetics whom we met with a few years ago —

"I was born in Bikaner, and am the son of Irtahoo Singh Bhiv Singh Thakor of Mooroo in that country. The name which I bore as a Rajpoot was Khet Singh, and my tribe was the Rathor. When I was four or five years old, Soorut Singh Raja of Bikaner, seized upon the

Our readers will have gathered from the description already given of 'mental worship' that the ordinary Hindoo religious service consists in performing for the idol such acts as a menial servant performs for his human master. The routine, which affords a tolerably distinct idea of Hindoo domestic life in former days is most fully brought out in a carefully attended temple of Vishnool, in which there are five daily services. At the time at which men rise from their beds in the morning bells are rung in the temple, the royal drum and the conch shell are sounded to awake the Dev from his slumbers. The officiating priest having performed ablutions enters the temple, and waves before the idol a lamp having usually five or seven branches. At eight or nine in the morning the Dev is dressed in clothes suitable to the season of the year. In the cold weather he wears a quilted coat and has a brazier placed beside him to afford warmth. In the hot weather he is anointed with sandal wood dust and water to produce coolness and is dressed in clothes of fine linen and adorned with flowers and jewels. he is placed beside a fountain and is fanned by his attendants. In the rainy season the Dev is dressed in scarlet cloth and shawls. At this time his breakfast is brought to him which consists of rice and milk and such other articles of food

estate of Mooroo and my father went out to recover it. I was with my father in outlawry until I attained the age of thirteen. My father then placed me in the temple of Mata Shree Kurneejee which is twelve kos from Bikaner. When the raja heard of this he sent for me to court and giving me a dress of honour ordered me to remain with him. but as I suspected that his intentions were treacherous I made my escape to Hotee near Pokurn in Marwar where there is a temple of Muhâ Dev and a monastery of which Muhanunt Chundun pooree was then the superior. I remained ten days at the monastery and saw the mode of life there and it came into my mind that it would be better to live there than to continue in outlawry. My lock of hair was therefore cut off and I was admitted as a disciple and instructed by the gooroo. I remained at the monastery ten years and afterwards went to Hinglaz on pilgrimage and since then I have wandered about from one Hindoo holy place to another and have visited Kasbee Jvala Mookhee Hurdwar Dwarka and other places. I am now *about forty years old. About ten years ago I went to pay a visit to *my own family. I found my elder brother Beerjee alive also my *uncle Man Singh and his son Raghoonath but my father was dead. *They pressed me to remain with them but I made my escape

The last of the five daily services takes place at night time Sandal, flowers, and incense are offered to the Dev, lamps are lighted, and a supper of milk, biscuits, and other articles is set before him He is then supposed to retire to rest, and, if moveable, his image is placed upon a bed, otherwise it is covered with shawls and garments

In the temples of Vishnôo there are usually two images, representing Seeta and Rām, or Rādhā and Krishn, Lūksmī, the brother of Rām, has also frequently an image On the birthdays of Rām and Krishn, and on other festivals, the idols are crowned, and arrayed in royal attire At the Hoolce, the Dev is dressed in yellow clothes, supplied with red powder and a squirt, and supposed to take part in the festivities On another occasion the image of Vishnôo is carried to a river or lake, where it is bathed and if the sheet of water be sufficiently extensive it is placed in a boat that it may enjoy a sail

In the temples of Shiva and in those of Deves the first, second and fourth services only are used The Jains merely wash their images with water brush them, smear them with sandal, and adorn them with jewels They wave the branched candlestick, however in the evening The Shrawuks, and particularly the women of that faith carry with them, when they go to worship, a *handsome bag containing rice* Near the idol is set a box with a hole in the lid into which they drop the rice and which every eight or ten days is opened that its contents may be thrown to the pigeons or otherwise disposed of, before life is generated in them Some persons drop money into the box and it appears probable that this

‘without leaves or branches of the mistleoe and before they entered the circle to offer they made a tour about it sunways and the like they did when they had done offering

‘The tour about the circle is called *Deas soil* from *Deas* the south and *soil* the sun q d. South about with the sun. I have often seen at marriages and churchings of women and burials such a tour made about the church. This ceremony was not confined to the Druids, we find it at the funeral pile of Pallas Virgil *E. Lib xi* 188 190

Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrero rogos ter mæstum funeras ignem
Lustravere in equis ululatusque ore dedere

Lachlan Shaw's *History of Moray*

was the original practice—the box retaining the name of 'Bhundar,' or treasury.

The Hindoos in Goozerat divide the year into three seasons, the *Sheecaloo* or cold season, the *Oonhaloo* or hot season, and the *Chomasoo* or monsoon. The first of these includes the months of Karteek, Magsheer, Posh, and Magh, the second those of Phulgoon, Chyetra, Wyeshak, and Jeth, and the third those of Ashad, Shrawun, Bhadrapud, and Asho. Each month is again divided into *Shood* and *Ud*, in the former of which there are moonlight nights.¹

The first festival which we shall have to notice occupies the three last days of the month of Asho. The thirteenth of the dark half of this month is called '*Dhan Terush*'². In the morning after ablutions, the Hindoos having carefully cleansed a few silver coins, and placed them on a table, worship them, anointing them with a preparation of turmeric, placing before them flowers and fragrant colored powders, with incense and lamps, and performing the other acts of worship. At the same

¹ The corresponding English months may be thus (roughly) stated,—

Sheecaloo	{ Karteek	=	November
	{ Magsheer	=	December
	{ Posh	=	January
	{ Magh	=	February
Oonhaloo	{ Phulgoon	=	March
	{ Chyetra	=	April
	{ Wyeshak	=	May
	{ Jeth	=	June
Chomasoo	{ Ashad	=	July
	{ Shrawun	=	August
	{ Bhadrapud	=	September
	{ Asho	=	October

[The month is divided into two fortnights, *krishna paksha* (*rudra paksha*), the dark fortnight, when the moon is waning, and *shukla paksha* (*buddha paksha*), the bright fortnight, when the moon is waxing. Dates are reckoned by the day of the fortnight of each month, e.g. the 5th of the *shukla paksha* of *Āśvin*. According to the *Lūnāmāntī* method of reckoning followed in Northern India and the Deccan, the month ends at full moon, according to the *Amānta* system, prevalent in Southern India, the month ends at *amāvasya*, or new moon. See Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 192.]

² [*Dhana Trajodati*, the 13th day of wealth.]

time shepherds cowherds and others who are similarly employed, adorn the animals which they tend and worship them. Fishermen in like manner color and worship their nets.¹ Their duties are performed fasting, on their conclusion each household holds a private festival. In the evening the people of the town or village assemble outside the gate to see the cowherds drive their flocks and cattle in from the fields at full gallop. On their return into the village they illuminate their houses. The next day which is called *Kālee Choudush* is dedicated to the worship of Hunooman and the night is the favorite time for the practice of magical rites. The illumination is repeated this night also but is far more brilliant and general on the succeeding evening which is called from the lines of lamps which are then exhibited the *Deewalee*.²

On the first day of the month of Kārtick, which is also the first of the year the Hindoos build before the Deys an Unnkoot or storehouse of every kind of food. It was the practice of old to worship Indra upon this day but Shree Krishn during his incarnation caused the mountain King Gowurdhun to be substituted for the Sovereign of Paradise³ and the Hindoos of the present day therefore erect a model of Gowurdhun mountain which they worship and upon which they place a flag a few sprigs of trees and some flowers. The trading classes open new account books on this day and worship them under the name of Suruswatee with all the sixteen acts excepting that of bathing. They sprinkle the first leaf

Therefore they sacrifice unto their net and burn incense unto their drag because by them their portion is fat and their meat plenteous—*Vide Habakkuk* i. 16. To which the author of the *Christian Year* refers in the following lines—

To our own nets ne'er bow we down
Lest on the eternal shore
The Angels while our draught they own
Reject us evermore

¹ Deep or Deev a lamp and Alee a line. [Divali extends from the 14th of the dark half of Āśvin to the 2nd of the bright half of Kārtika. The first of Kārtika is New Year's day according to the Vikrama Samvat. New account books are opened and worshipped.]

² The story may be found at length in the Prem Sagur chapters 2 to 28 a translation of that work by Professor Eastwick—London James Madden 8 Leadenhall Street—1851

with the red preparation of turmeric, and head it in some such fashion as the following making a few fictitious entries for good luck of articles used on festive occasions—

' Praise to Shree Gunesk ! Shree Sirdajee ¹ is true ' Praise to the floods of the jewel treasury—the ocean ! Shree Lm bajee mother is true ' Shree Boucherajee is true !

' In the year of Vikram 1908 on the first day of the light half of the month Kartick being Saturday in Shree Blow nugger, the chief Shree Veejye Singh is ruling his heir apparent is the Prince Shree Dajee Raj and Desajee Sooruj ram is the minister This book is the account book of the present writer, Sha Moteechund Soorchund '

Dr

Turmeric $\frac{1}{2}$ seer
Sugar 1 seer
Betel $\frac{1}{2}$ seer
Nutmegs 7

Cr

Turmeric $\frac{1}{2}$ seer
Sugar 1 seer
Betel $\frac{1}{2}$ seer
Nutmegs 7

The third day of the month of Wyeshak which in the language of Goozerat is called Ukhatoree ² is supposed to be the day on which the storms of the monsoon commence and the sea becomes unfit for navigation It is the great day of omens The Hindoos on the evening of the 2nd make outside the villages model towns built of corn and stored with little heaps of various grains They place therein also a copper coin to represent the raja betel nut to stand for the minister a little cotton some sugar and other articles On the morning of the 3rd the villagers examine the model If the ants have interfered much with any kind of grain during the night time the people think that the grain will be scarce during the ensuing year In whatever direction the cotton has been removed there they believe cotton will be in demand that season and they conclude that the raja or minister will prosper or suffer misfortune accordingly as the

¹ Saraswatee

² [*Ukhatoree* Akha a tile axle of the char or wheel of the Sun which is worshipped on that day But the proper form of the word is *akha* *Ukha* the undecaying third which under the form Akha marks the beginning of the agricultural year in northern India (Crooke *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* ii 287 ff)]

money or the betel nut has been carried away or allowed to remain unmolested. This custom is said to be still more prevalent in Marwar than it is in Goozerat. Of omens, Krishnaje, the author of *Rutun malī*, has left us a very full enumeration. The following are the inauspicious omens which an army encountered on its way to a field of battle, where it was defeated :—

‘First, as they went, a man sneezed when he met them, a dog howled—an omen not good, a cat passed them on the right hand, a donkey brayed, and a kite cried terribly. Meeting them, came a widow and a Sunvatee, a Brahmin without a teeluk on his forehead, a person dressed in mourning garments, one who carried a plate of flour, and a woman with her hair dishevelled.’ On another occasion, however, the same army rejoiced in a string of good omens.—‘They met a learned Brahmin, book in hand, they met a married woman with her son who had gone out to fetch water, they met a horseman, a Kshutree, with his arms, they met a gardener who carried a vase of flowers; they met a cow with her calf, the cow adorned with red ointment and with garlands.’

‘In a certain village on the morning of Ukhatur,’ says a modern Goozeratee author, ‘five men went outside the gate to take omens. Having listened to the noise of the jackals and other animals, they turned to proceed homewards. As they went, one man stopped, and sat down and the other four stood waiting for him. At this time they heard a cultivator’s wife ask her husband whether he thought they would be obliged to purchase a bullock that year or not. The

'cultivator said, "There is no fear of those four that are on their legs, but I have little hope of the one that cannot stand; it will die this year without a doubt." The man who sat, hearing this omen, was fully persuaded in his mind that he would not survive the year. I heard, too, that he fretted himself to such an extent, that he really did die within the time allotted.

'A ringdove sat upon the roof of an old Koonbee woman's house. She, hearing it cooing, began to weep and beat her breast. A Brahmin, having come there at the time, the old woman said to him, "O Muhârîj, this cursed pigeon is after me again. It has carried off already my husband, my two sons, and my daughter, and now it has come for me, and sits every day on the top of my house, crying." The Brahmin gave her some charmed pebbles, with which she pelted the pigeon every day for seven days as often as it came. After that it returned no longer. The old woman thereupon revered the Brahmin as if he had been the Supreme Being.

'In Goozerat, if a pigeon or an owl sit on a housetop constantly, people believe that the death of some one of the inhabitants of the house will follow. If, also, a crow¹ alight

¹ The owl and crow have always been held to be birds of ill omen—vide Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, where the following, among other examples, are quoted —

When screech owls croak upon the chimney tops,

It's certain then you of a corpse shall hear

Reed's Old Plays, vi 257.

The boding raven on her cottago sat,

And, with horse croakings, warn'd us of our fate

Gay's Pastorals

'The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign;

The night crow cried, aboding luckless time,

Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempests shook down trees;

The raven rook'd her on the chimney's top,

And chattering pies in dismal discord sung

Third Part of King Henry V, Act V, sc 6

The boatmen on the Indus will not suffer a crow to alight on their vessels, and consider it to be extremely unlucky. In Sweden the magpie, like others of the raven or crow family, is a mystic bird, a downright witches' bird, belonging to the devil and the other hidden powers of

‘ upon a man, or a spider fall upon him, they believe that his
 ‘ life will be shortened To prevent this calamity, the man
 ‘ strips off the clothes he wore at the time the accident
 ‘ happened gives them to Brahmins, and goes away to per-
 ‘ form ablution If such a thing happen to a rya, he performs
 ‘ sacrifice by fire Whenever many meteors fall from the
 ‘ sky, or the earth quakes, or wild animals enter a village, or
 ‘ any other portent occurs, people have recourse to a section of
 ‘ the Sam Veda, in which remedies are prescribed which ryas
 ‘ ought to adopt If the rya neglect this duty, people believe
 ‘ that great injury will be occasioned to the country over
 ‘ which he rules However, things happen as they are dis-
 ‘ posed be the remedy taken or neglected ’

Binasoor and his queen, says the ‘ Rape of Oka,’ one of the most popular poems in the language of Goozerat, were seated in the early morning at a window of their palace of Shoneetpoor, on the coast of the ocean when an outcaste who came thither to sweep the road, beheld them, and averted his face from the evil omen The king and queen called him to them and demanded the cause of his behaviour He said, at first, that being of so low a caste he was afraid that if he showed his face to them he should be put to death, but, on being pressed to tell the truth and assured of pardon he confessed that he had averted his face from them because they were childless persons and to behold them at that hour was ominous of misfortune The Rincee was very much distressed and wept bitterly She said that her palace without a child’s cradle in it seemed to her like a Gossue’s monastery or a funeral ground and she entreated her husband to procure the

night When the witches on Walpurgis night ride to the Blokulle they turn themselves into magpies. When these birds are moulting in summer and become bald about the neck, the country people say they have been to the Blokulle and helped the evil one to get in his hay, and that the yoke has rubbed their feathers off In Denmark the crow is a bird of omen but not necessarily of ill omen Olaf Trygvasson although a Christian observed whether a crow stood on its right or left foot, and predicted good or evil accordingly whence his enemies nicknamed him *Kral Bein* (crow leg). In North Germany it is believed that if ravens fly over a house making a great croaking a person will soon die in it

boon from Shiva.* Binisoor repaired to Kyeelis and devoted himself to austerities of so great severity that Shiva was driven to seek the advice of Pārutee as to the means of satisfying this importunate worshipper. The goddess possessed herself but two children, Gunesh and Okā, and she refused to surrender either. With much entreaty, however, Shiva extorted from her a consent to relinquish Okā, whom he conveyed, accordingly, to the suppliant monarch, to be brought up as his own daughter.

Binisoor some time afterwards having procured great strength from Shiva, became so inflated with pride as to challenge that deity himself to the combat. Shiva cursed him for his arrogance, and predicted that his strength should be reft from him by the grandfather of Okā's future husband. The king now thought of putting Okā to death, but, at the suggestion of a counsellor, altered his determination to that of keeping her unmarried. He built a tower by the sea-side, to which he left no means of access, and there he placed Okā and her maiden confidante, setting a guard around the tower, and ordering that its inmates should be supplied only with such food as they should themselves draw up in a basket by a rope. Okā, however, from her place of confinement, addressed her prayers for a husband to her mother Pārutee, or Gowree. She repeated her petitions thrice, and the goddess then made answer that she should marry three husbands. Okā now prayed that she might not be subjected to the calamity of becoming twice a widow, and Gowree answered, that she should marry once in a dream, a second time in private, and a third time publicly, but that her husband should be one and the same. She married, accordingly, Unceroodh, the son of Pradyumnā, the son of Krishn, and that divinity (though Shiva fought for him) reft his strength from Bânâsoor.

Such, according to the popular version, was the origin of the festival called 'the Worship of Gowree', which is held on the twelfth day of the light half of Āshād, the first month of the monsoon season. In preparation for this day, little girls, between the ages of five and ten years, form an earthen image of Gowree, and dress it up in clothes. On either side, they set a vessel full of earth in which they have sown wheat and

jowaree The morn'ng of the twelfth is soon as they get up they go to the river side to bathe. Returning from thence they proceed to some place where all the female children of the village or quarter of the town are assembling and thence the whole proceed together singing songs in praise of either their deity Shree Krishn or their temporal master the lord of the village to the house of some Brahmin to whose care the image of Gowree has been entrusted. They now worship the goddess with the sixteen prescribed ceremonials making her presents which fall as perquisites to the Brahmin. The mothers or elder sisters of the girls at this time prompt them to ask a boon of the goddess and the children one after the other say

Gor! Ma! grant me a good bridegroom. From the Brahmin's house they return home worshipping on their way a sacred basil tree a cow a well and lastly the threshold of their father's house. The votaries of Gowree are bound by a vow to eat once only during the day but this rule they comply with in form alone. At four in the afternoon the little girls are again assembled decked out each of them in as brilliant a manner as the means of their parents permit and they now set forth to worship all the Deys one after the other. The day is generally concluded by these juvenile holy-makers at the village tank beside which they romp until bed time. One of their great amusements is to strut about in procession, beating their breasts as female mourners do at a funeral and crying out 'Alas! Dedâ alas! alas! Or perhaps for the obnoxious Deda they substitute a chief with whom theirs is at enmity or some other unpopular person.

Betrothed girls receive at the time of this festival presents of clothes and other articles from the house of their intended bridegroom.

There is a verse in common use among the women of Coozerat to the effect that if rain do not fall in the first five days of Shrawun a famine will ensue —

If in the first five days of Shrawun
The cloud king do not begin to scatter his drops *
H alah! do you go to Malwa
I shall go home to my father's house

When the fall of rain is long delayed the Hindus think that

Indra wishes to lay waste their town or village, and to deprecate his wrath by submission, they quit the place in a body for the day, leaving it 'oojud', or waste, and cook their dinner outside. This is called an 'Oojanee'. In the territories of native chiefs, the raja issues proclamation by beat of drum, the day before the Oojanee is to take place, that a fine will be imposed upon any person who presumes to light a fire within the town.

Another mode of inducing the rain to fall, is to send for one of the persons called Bhoowos, who are supposed to be inspired by a local Devee. The man arrives, and, after certain preliminaries, begins to counterfeit inspiration. The Hindoos then address him as the goddess and say, 'Mâtâjee, why is it that the rain does not fall?' The Bhoowo, flinging his limbs about, and rolling his eyes, makes answer, 'Why should it fall? you make me no offerings.' 'We were wrong, Mâtâjee!' they say, 'we are your children, we will bring offerings whenever you please.' He then orders them to present certain kinds of food, which he describes, on the next day which is sacred to the Devee. The offerings must be put in broken earthen vessels, which represent the human skulls out of which the Yogeence delights to eat; they must be carried outside the eastern door of the city, and then set down in a circle which has been previously sprinkled with water. As each householder has to present an offering, the number of the vessels which are thus set down is sometimes very large. The dogs, or the Dhers,¹ eat the food, and if the rain fall it is believed that the Devee has sent it.

The following is another mode of inducing a fall of rain. The outlet by which water passes off from the basin that the symbol of Shiva is set in must be closed up, and libations made until the ling is immersed. This process should be repeated for eight days, unless rain fall in the meantime.

Koonbee and Bhel women sometimes parade the streets on

¹ [The Dhed or Dher are one of the 'depressed' castes in Gujarât. The position of the Dhedas of northern and southern Gujarât vary considerably. In Ahmadâbâd they are private rather than public servants, while south of the Narbada the case is the reverse. For a full account of the caste see *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, part i, 338 ff.]

these occasions, *singing songs addressed to the goddess of the rain* —

The cultivator has abandoned the plough O Meyhoola
 In pity to him do thou rain therefore O Meyhoola
 The good man has packed off the good woman home O Meyhoola
 Separated from her are her little children O Meyhoola
 The stream is dry in the river's bed O Meyhoola.

A boy accompanies the singers bearing on his head a basket containing *moul l* with three *sprigs of the limb tree*¹ stuck in it. When the party approaches a Hindoo house, the women come forth and pour water over the sprigs so that the boy is drenched through they make presents of grain at the same time to the women who form the procession.

On the fifth of the second half of the month of Shrawun² the people of Goozerat prepare a white surface on some wall in the interior of their houses upon which they paint in black a rude picture of the house of Shesh Nāg the snake supporter of the universe. They worship this figure with all the prescribed forms and address the snake king saying 'Sire! be propitious to me in the hope of securing his favor for the ensuing year.' This is the day upon which according to Hindoo practice the royal yearly grants ought to be paid. The festival is called '*Nāg Panchmee*'

The next day is entitled *Rānd in Chut* or 'Cooking Sixth', and is devoted to the preparation of food for the seventh the day dedicated to Seetula Devce or the small pox. The goddess is supposed to wander about on that day among the ovens of the householders on which account no fire must be lighted there for fear of annoying her. The following account of Seetula Devce is from the modern author we have already quoted —

'In the course of the present year the daughter of a neighbor of mine who was four years old fell sick of small pox. When the disease appeared as the parents were old and had but one daughter and two sons they were very much alarmed that they should lose their favorite. They brought her bed

¹ [This is Forbes' name for the Neem tree (*Azad irachta Indica*)]

² [*Nāg Panchmī* is in the bright half of Śrawan.]

' into the house, put a screen before it, with branches of the
 ' limb tree and having mixed ass's dung and cow's urine
 ' with limb leaves put this into an earthen vessel into which
 ' each of them as they had occasion to return into the house,
 ' dipped their feet so as to moisten the big toe of the right
 foot. If neighbour or relation or other visitor came the same
 purification had to be gone through. The reason was this,
 ' that whoever attends a person who is sick with small pox
 must not allow the shadow of another person to fall upon
 ' himself but if he dips his foot as described the ill effect is
 avoided. The shadow of a woman at the time of menstrua-
 ' tion or of one cohabiting with her husband is also injurious—
 as is that of a man who is newly bathed.¹ What objection
 ' there can be to this last I do not understand. Each person
 ' belonging to the house keeps beside him a bunch of limb
 ' leaves to avert the ill effect produced by the shadow of an
 unclean person falling on him. All these precautions had
 ' been duly observed by my neighbours. As the days went on
 the disease also increased. A learned Brahmin was then
 called in who recited the Seetula Stotra which is contained
 in the Roodrayamul. It consists of praises of Seetula
 among which are these — *that she is naked seated on a*
donkey wearing a broken winnowing fan on her head with the
pad of a water vessel in one hand and a besom in the other and
that she is of the Chundal caste. At the end of such equivocal
 praises as these the book continues — O great Devec! you
 ' are the mother of the world. Brumha Vislnoo Maha Dev
 Indra and the other gods worship you continually. I
 therefore entreat you to heal this child. Such praises they
 ' caused to be read and to please Seetula they fed a donkey
 with grass and cakes of wheat. Notwithstanding all this the
 disease went on increasing. They now had recourse to vows
 and promised that if the child recovered they would give
 its weight in coarse sugar to Brahmins and also the same
 weight of dates. Every hour they made some new vow or
 other—as for instance that they would take the child to

¹ [Bathing being a mode of removing tabu probably it is believed
 that a certain time must elapse before the pollution is completely
 dispersed.]

'Boucherajee s,¹ would feed twenty five Brahmins at the temple of that Devee and would shave off the hair of the child's head there. The mother took a vow that she would not wear a bodice until the sick child had worshipped at Buleeā Devee s and that she would go thither carrying a lighted brazier on her head and a shoe in her mouth which latter should be smeared with human ordure. She vowed also to offer a pair of silver eyes a sheet of paper and two rupees weight of sugar with grapes and other cooling things. She promised too a vessel of cold water. The father vowed to wear no turban until the child should have worshipped Buleeā and to perform the distance of the last four fields in a series of somersets. The woman suggested that as he was not well he should reduce the distance to two fields, but the father declared himself willing to undergo the annoyance if only his daughter might recover. A whole day they went on vowing one vow after another to Dev after Dev but the child did not get well. Then father and mother both of them began to weep. The visitors tried to encourage them and told them to place confidence in Buleeā. The mother answered 'Die and be wailed Buleeā! You were my enemy in former birth! Murderess! you are come to take my girl's life. The standers by said 'Bae! you should not speak so! As the raja frightens his ministers when he wants to force their spoils from them so Buleeā is frightening you that you may worship her the more. Do not be alarmed. Some of the children in your house have been wittingly or unwittingly deriding Buleeā. You must ask pardon. They then repeated a mode of asking pardon which I am almost ashamed to write. It is this — O Buleeā! if at any time wittingly or unwittingly I have derided you pardon me. I have committed a fault. I have done wrong. I have eaten your dung. Be merciful and preserve my daughter!' Notwithstanding that the woman said this the girl died. Then abusing Buleeā very much the mother beat her breast crying 'Ah murderess! Ah sinner! Such was her will. She also with the other women wept.

[Bāh charaj a desecrated Charan woman slain in an attack by the hols. See the story in *Lonbay Gazette* et ix part i 210 and p 400 *infra*.]

' continually crying out against Bulecā. A month afterwards the same woman's son was attacked with small-pox. Then she betook herself to vows as before. The boy recovered, and she performed the vows she had undertaken.'

Succeeding 'Sectulā's seventh', is the 'Birth-day eighth',¹ the natal day of Shree Krishn. This is a day of fast. The birth of the god is supposed to take place at midnight, on the eighth; and wherever a temple of Krishn exists they perform during that night all the ceremonies usual on the birth of a royal infant. The image of Bāl Krishn is rocked in a cradle; music sounds before him; and gifts are liberally bestowed. At the supposed hour of birth the temple is crowded with worshippers.

The fifteenth of the light half of the month of Shrāwun² is called *Bulec*, or Bulec's day,³ being the anniversary of the contest between the rāja of that name and Vishnōo, in the incarnate form of Wāmun. Brahmins upon this festival proceed to the river side, where they worship the Shālagrām stone as an emblem of Vishnōo, and perform the rite called 'Rodily' 'purification', which will afterwards be described, for the cleansing of all sins committed during the year, as well as of impurities contracted from the touch of Shoodras, or other unclean persons. They next worship the seven sages, the ancestors of the Brahminical race, and Uroondhutee⁴ their consort, to represent whom they make eight figures of sacrificial grass. At this time, also, they change for a new one the junocoe, or cord worn by the regenerate classes, which they have used during the year. The new cord has been constructed during the preceding month or two, by themselves or by other Brahmins, and precautions have been taken to make it of great strength. Some Brahmins, who affect much strictness

¹ [The Janamāshṭamī, 'eighth day of the birth' of Krishna, is held on 8th dark half of the month Bhādon.]

² [This is also *Nārāl Pūrṇima* or coconut day, when the monsoon ends and merchants expecting ships throw coconuts into the sea.]

³ [Bāl Rājā, a mythical king to whom Vishnu in his Dwarf Incarnation gave the kingdom of Indra. He afterwards took it away, and this is celebrated at Dīvālī.]

⁴ [Arundhati, the wife of the Rishi Vasiṣṭha, and a star near the 6th in Ursa Major (*Saptarishi*, the seven Rishis). Cf. p. 231, note 2.]

In ritual observances, grow the cotton which is required to form the cord in a pot within their own houses. The Brahmins touch the grass figures with their new cords and put them on. They then break the old cords and throw them into the river. Next they take some sacrificial grass and the new cord into their hands and make libations of water, after which they recite the sages' genealogies¹, and then either cast the grass figures into the river or carry them home to use them as objects of worship during the year. Libations are made at this time with the view of presenting to the sages (who are supposed to transmit them to the gods) 'first fruits', or offerings of the new water of the river which has fallen from the autumnal clouds.

The preceptor of the Brahmins now binds upon their arms a red or yellow bracelet, made of silk or cotton with artificial pearls called *Rākhudee* which is said to have been originally employed as an amulet against a disease which used to be prevalent at this time of the year. The Brahmins return into the city or village, and bind similar bracelets upon the wrists of their disciples and friends.

The fourth of the light half of Bhādrapad is called Gunesh fourth¹ being the birth day of that divinity. An earthen image of Gunesh dressed in costly clothes is worshipped every day from this day until the eleventh particularly with offerings of sumptuous food in which the Dev is considered to take especial delight. On the eleventh the image is carried out in great noise and pomp to the river side. A Brahmin bearing the image with him walks into the water until he is nearly out of depth and then drops it into the stream and swims to the bank. The rest of the company who have meanwhile stood or sat at the river side watching the proceedings remain silent for a few minutes. They then rise, the banners and scarlet umbrellas are again elevated, muskets are fired, the cavaliers cause their horses to curvet and prance, the elephants swing along at their

¹ [The Gapeśa Chatvīthī. For the observances in Bengal see B. A. Gupto *Hindu Hol days and Ceremonials*, 2nd ed., 54 f. The throwing of stones and abuse at this festival are a means of dispersing the influence of dangerous spirits and of the Evil Eye (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* 1: 26 f.)]

swift but heavy-seeming trot, the bells suspended from them sounding as they go, and the whole procession retraces its steps into the town.

On the birth-day of Gunesh the poorer class prepare a sweet cake, which the Dev is represented as holding in his hand, and of which he is considered to be particularly fond, and, first offering it to himself, break it in pieces, and throw it behind the grain jars and heavy boxes, of which there are always plenty in their houses. The intention is to supply a feast for the rats and mice, which there abound, and which are esteemed to be the attendants of Gunesh.

It is a popular superstition that to behold the moon on the night of 'Gunesh fourth' is unlucky, and that whoever does so is sure to get into some disgrace in the course of the year. The evil may, however, be averted by incessant repetition of a sacred stanza. Some persons take the precaution of shutting themselves up in their houses, and closing all the windows: others who, for whatever reason, have been compelled to go out of doors and to see the moon, throw stones at a neighbour's door or upon his roof, in order that he may abuse them, and that this harmless fulfilment of the ominous prediction may avert more serious consequences.

The day which follows the 'Gunesh fourth' is called the 'Sage's fifth'.¹ On this day the people of Gozerat, in commemoration of the sages who are supposed to have lived upon uncultivated grain, use only such vegetable food as springs up spontaneously.

Many of the Jains observe a two months' fast, which is called 'the Pujosun,' during the monsoon, supposing that greater production of life than is usual then takes place. The fast is one of great severity when strictly observed. Shrāwaks should abstain from ablutions, and from every species of purification, and should take no sustenance but water, which has been boiled and allowed to cool. The greater number of the Jains fast for a certain number of days, and every one is expected to observe at least the last day of the Pujosun, which falls on the same day as the 'Sage's fifth.' At the close of

¹ [*Rishi Pañchamī*]

the fast the Shrawuks go round to visit* all their friends, a custom derived (as they say) from the necessity of inquiring what persons had perished in consequence of the severity of the fasting which they had undergone. Each Shrawuk, as he enters his friend's house, takes hold of him by both hands, and repeats the following sacred stanza —

‘ Twelve months, twenty four half months, forty eight and four weeks—if during this time I may have said or done anything annoying to you pardon me ’

The ascetics of the Jain religion, and particularly those of the Doondeea¹ sect take at this time occasionally a vow called ‘ suntharo ’ which pledges them to produce their death by abstaining from food. As soon as a jutte has taken this vow,

¹ The Doondeea sect did not arise it is said before Sumvut 1700 (A D 1644). The word Doondeea means searcher and is assumed by these sectaries on the ground of their being reformers of the Jain religion. Their adversaries the Tupas sect however derive the word from doond a husk and pronounce the Doondeeas to be the husks of the Shrawuk grain. The Doondeeas neither use temples nor worship idols. They abstain from ablutions with the idea of avoiding the destruction of life and will drink no water but what has been boiled. The Doondeea ascetic is a disgusting object. He retains no property even the convent in which he lives belonging to his followers. He quits his dwelling only for the purpose of procuring food. He carries a fan of goat's hair in his hand which he employs in removing anything possessing life from the path on which he treads or the ground on which he sits. He wears a screen of cloth, called a moomutee tied over his mouth lest he should inhale insects to their destruction. His body and clothes are filthy in the last degree and covered with vermin. [See *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix part 1 10.]

About fifteen years ago the Doondeeas and Tupas came into violent collision at Goondul in Katchwar where there is a great Shrawuk temple and the former gaining the mastery destroyed the idols. A similar contest afterwards occurred at Wankaner when relations were arrayed against each other in arms. The followers of the Jhala chieftain interfering to put down the disturbance were furiously attacked by both parties.

The Tupas in the province of Kutch finding themselves in danger of being supplanted by the Doondeeas broke up the Shrawuks into two castes. In the city of Ahmedabad it would seem that the Tupas and Doondeeas still eat together but that they have ceased to intermarry. The greater asceticism of the latter sect has up to the present time gained them more followers than their rivals can secure and a new and stricter sect called the Shumbegee has sprung up among the Tupas themselves.

Krishh recommended the vow to Yoodishtêer and the other sons of Pandoo, pronouncing that he himself was Ununt, how a Brâhmin's wife, in the golden age, procured wealth for her husband by observing the vow, which melted away on the ignorant removal by her lord of the mystic bracelet from her arm, how the repentant priest on discovering the cause of his misfortunes sought the protection of Ununt, and received from that deity, in addition to the gift of wealth, the promise of religion in the present life, and the heaven of Vishnoo in the life to come, and how many other strange and wonderful effects were produced by the worship of '*the Illimitable*,'¹ for the repetition of which we possess, however, too little space in the present volumes.

The Nowrattrâ, or *Festival of Nine Nights*, occupying the period from the first to the ninth of the moonlight half of Âshvî, is consecrated to the Family Goddess, or to Doorga, the consort of Shiva. On the first day of the feast the Hindoos having carefully whitened a sufficient surface of wall within their houses, paint upon it, with vermilion, the trident, which is the emblem of the goddess. In front of it they build a model of her dwelling which placed as it usually is on the mountain top, amidst forests, or in other spots equally difficult of access,² is represented by a heap of earth sown with wheat and barley, and surmounted by a metal water vessel, containing a cocoa nut. The goddess is now, by the first of the sixteen acts of worship 'invited' to occupy her temple. An earthen vessel, pierced with numerous holes, and containing a light is placed near the trident, or perhaps in country places a tree to which lamps are hung is erected in some open spot in the village, round which the people walk or dance, clapping their hands and singing songs.³ A lamp fed with clarified butter, and placed upon a stand, is kept burning night and day before the goddess.

¹ Shesh means the remnant of anything as the unused paper of a manuscript book, and hence is applied also to the void remaining around and 'supporting' the world. This is also 'Nag' (motionless) and 'Ununt' (illimitable). Shesh Nag is further termed Bhoddhâr' (supporter of the earth).

² Hence her name *Doorgâ* which means 'difficult of access.'

³ The lamp and the tree are called 'Gurbo, Garbee, and hence the song is also called 'Gurbo'.

during the nine days of the Nowrâttra, and a member of the family, who abstains from eating grain while so employed, watches continually to replenish the lamp, and to worship the sacred emblems. The family priest reads, during the nine days, 'the Book of Doorgâ,' which contains a description of the achievements of that goddess, and of the prescribed modes of her worship. On the eighth day fire-sacrifice is performed in each private house, and in the temples of the goddess. At the shrine of the Ârâsooree mother or at the temple of the Choon-wâl Devec, Koolces and others at this and similar times offer animals in vicarious sacrifice to the goddess for their sick friends and children. On the ninth day the mound of earth, in which the wheat and barley has by this time sprouted, is raised from its position, and carried out to the side of a river or reservoir of water, to which pure element it is consigned, that it may not be subsequently defiled. The vessel which contained the lamp is placed at the same time in front of a Devec's image.

The Rajpoot chiefs and others, who claim the possession of Kshutreeya blood, offer sacrifices of animals at the Nowrâttra in their private temples for the welfare of themselves and their followers during the year. With them the cannon is the most appropriate emblem of Doorgâ Devec, and they mark her trident therefore upon it, and raising before it the representation of her shrine, surround it with lamps.

The day immediately succeeding the ninth day of the Nowrâttra is the 'Dussera,' or 'tenth day,' a festival which commemorates the entrance of the sons of Pandoo into Wyerât Nugger, as well as the destruction by Ram of the giant-king of Ceylon,—events celebrated in the two great epic-poems of the Hindoos. As Urjoon and his brothers worshipped the *Shumee* tree,¹ and hung up their arms upon it, so the Hindoos go forth to worship that tree on the festival of the Dussera. They address the tree under the name of Upurâjeetâ, the 'invincible goddess,' sprinkle it with five ambrosial liquids,² wash it with water, and hang garments upon it. They light

¹ 'Mimosa Suma'

² *Panchâmrit*, a mixture of milk, curds, sugar, clarified butter, and honey

lamps and burn incense before the symbol of Upurjeetâ, make *chândlos* upon the tree, sprinkle it with rose coloured water, set offerings of food before it, and perform the ceremony of circumambulation, repeating as they walk the following stanzas —

I

Shumee pacifies for sins
Shumee destroys enemies
Shumee cures diseases,
Shumee procures success in every object

II

Holder of the bow of Urjoon !
Exhibitor of his heart's desire to Ram !
Restorer of life to Lukshmun !
Assuager of the grief of Seeta !

Then, turning themselves round, they worship in succession the ten *Dig Pals*, or protectors of the ten points of Heaven, beginning with Indra, the Deity of the East whom they thus address —

In the East whatever works I have
To those works cause success —

and proceeding similarly with the other nine At this time the Hindoos break and throw from them the bracelet which they had assumed in the Bulev festival

The Rajpoot chiefs on the evening of the Dussera worship also the *Fort protectress*, the goddess Gudeychee On their return from the Shumee worship into the city they join together in bands brandishing their spears galloping their horses and enacting in other ways the part of an army taking the field Salutes of cannon are at the same time fired

Many of the Hindoos as they return home take earth from the roots of the Shumee tree, a few of its leaves some betel nut and a stalk of the wheat that has grown up around the model temple of Doorga Of these articles they compound a ball which they keep about them as an amulet and carry with them if called upon to perform a journey The piece of wheatstalk which remains they fix upright, as an ornament in their turbans

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGES

MARRIAGE among the Hindoos in Goozerat can take place only between members of the same caste, and if that be permanently subdivided as, for instance, into right and left hand, of the same subdivision of it. Brahmins refer back to a 'gotra' a supposed ancestor of whose period they are not distinctly informed, and they do not permit alliances among his descendants.¹ Other Hindoos maintaining the same rule, construe it less strictly as they do not pretend to be possessed of information extending back to so remote a date as that of the Brahmins. The bard called Wyewunchi—the genealogist of the caste—can, however, usually trace back to about twenty descents, and the degrees within which marriage is prohibited are regulated by the information supposed to be in his possession. In addition to these rules there exists another, of less authority, but commanding, nevertheless almost invariable acquiescence which prescribes that the descendants of the brothers and sisters of a female ancestor within five descents, or of a step mother within three descents, are not fit persons with whom to contract a marriage. It is further declared that a man may not marry the sister of the wife of his father's brother.

The different *Kools* or families of the same caste, are not treated with equal consideration. One *Kool* assumes a

¹ [The Brahmanical rules about marriage are extremely complicated. The leading principle however is that there shall be identity of caste (endogamy) and difference of *gotra* (exogamy). *Gotra* has been explained p. 231 note 2. But each *gotra* contains exogamous sub *gotras* named after more recent eponymous ancestors (*pravara*) Garga, Sandilya, Kausika and Vatsya being the chief. A Brâhman cannot marry a *sapinda*, i. e. a relative on either side three generations upwards or downwards, or a woman of his mother's *gotra* if she is a *sapinda*. A woman may marry *above* her class only (hypergamy). On the Hindu customs of endogamy and exogamy see Sir H. Risley, *The People of India* 2nd ed., 156 ff.]

superiority to another, founded usually upon benefits conferred on the caste generally by ancestors of the house. It is always an object of solicitude to the parents of a female child that they should procure her marriage with the scion of a more noble family. To wed her to a bridegroom of inferior rank is considered disgraceful, and it is this feeling which has so often urged the Rajpoot or even the Koonbee of Goozerat to practice the dreadful crime of infanticide.¹

In the case of male children, parental anxiety, though scarcely less in amount, is different in the form which it assumes. Careful persons can avoid a large expenditure on occasions of obsequies, though few are so cautious, the usual

¹ 'The reasons why the higher castes of Rajpoots murder their girls are various. The chief inducement to this crime is the heavy expense to which their customs expose them on the occasion of a marriage of a daughter. These may be thus stated. On the conclusion of a match between the parents a sum of money is sent to the father of the youth by the father of the girl. This sum is not large, probably about the tenth of the amount of 'Juheez,' or dower. This is a sort of earnest money, and when the ceremony of Tilluk is completed the father of the girl cannot recede from the engagement.

'After this comes the 'Luggun,' when half of the dower agreed upon is paid, and the date for the nuptial procession, called the "Burat," is settled. The Burat, or chief marriage ceremony, to which all the relations and friends are invited, is the occasion of the most profuse expenditure in feasting them, the greater the multitude fed, the better satisfied is the pride and vanity of the father of the girl, who, at the same time, pays the remainder of the dower. This sum varies according to the rank of the parties, but is generally enough to throw the father into debt and difficulties. Unless a handsome sum be offered, a husband of good caste is not to be procured, and, unless the feasting be profuse, and the invitations to the marriage feast general, then the girl's parents are held up to public scorn, as stingy or poverty stricken. This is the chief reason why the high caste and proud Thakors hate the idea of a daughter being born to them. Another reason is the blind pride which makes them hate that any man should call them Sals, or Sussoor—brother in law, or father in law. This crime of infanticide is not confined to the Rajpoots, some tribes of the Aheers are equally guilty. We remember remonstrating with the heads of an Aheer village, who had ten girls to eighty boys living. They said, "Sir, it is all very well for Bunyas and such people to beget girls, but they are very seldom or ever born to men of our caste."—*Article on the Landed Tenures in the North West Provinces. Benares Magazine, for October, 1850.* [See S R H, Risley, *The People of India*, 2nd ed., 171 ff.]

rule being that they incur debt for the purpose, but, prudent or imprudent, all are compelled to lavish sums altogether inconsistent with the means of the majority in marrying their sons, or, if their father be dead, their younger brothers. To be unmarried is contemptible, ignominious. The man who has not begotten a child, or who has lost his children, is despised as an eunuch; to meet him in the morning is an omen of misfortune, when he dies he becomes a miserable ghost, his spirit haunting his former abode, and enviously beholding the happy enjoyment by some other of those blessings which the curse of sonlessness has rendered nugatory to himself.

Some curious customs which obtain in particular castes may be worth alluding to in this place. The Kuruwâ Koonbees celebrate marriages only under a certain sidereal conjunction, which occurs about once in thirteen years, and hence it is asserted by others, though they themselves deny it, that their unborn children are often contracted in marriage on the chance of their being male and female¹. A shepherd caste called 'Bhurwads,' fix upon a particular year, about once in ten years, for the celebration of their marriages, and they purchase from the Rajpoot chief, or other ruling power, a piece of ground upon which the hymeneal ceremonies are performed. This caste, also, finds itself compelled, for similar reasons, to contract children of the age of two or three months. The ground cannot be employed for marriage rites a second time, but it is retained henceforth in pasture, and never subjected to cultivation. Upon it the shepherds erect an ornamental wooden post, called a 'marriage pillar,' which is preserved as an indication of the purpose to which the ground has been applied.

The bridegroom is called 'wur,' and the bride 'kunya.' Proposals of marriage are symbolized by a cocoa nut which is sometimes richly studded with gems. They emanate from the house of lesser pretension, and the father of either bride or

¹ In the hills near Raj Mihal, 'It is not uncommon for two neighbours to agree when their respective wives are pregnant, that the offspring in the event of their being a boy and a girl shall be married to each other.—Vide *Asiat. Res.* iv, p. 63. [The custom of betrothing unborn children, known as Adla-badla, 'interchange,' still prevails among many castes in northern India.]

bridegroom, who seeks to ally his child to the redder blood of a more distinguished Kool, must balance the scales with gold.' If the families are considered to be on an equality, the father of the bride makes proposals, and money is not demanded on either side. When the bridegroom is of high rank, so that he is under no difficulty as regards providing himself with a wife, he has frequently many proposals made to him. The family priest, or a relation, is then sent to ascertain, by personal interview, that the young ladies are neither blind, lame, nor afflicted with other bodily defect, and that they are in every respect eligible. The priest (or gor), however, as it is said, invariably fills a purse for himself, and not unfrequently, to increase his gains, behaves treacherously to those who have employed him, by concealing the ladies' defects, or exaggerating their good qualities. There is a Hindoo saying, founded on the mendacity of the priest upon such occasions, which states that sufficient weight of sins to bear him down to hell is accumulated by a king in three months, by the head of a monastery in three days, but by a gor in three hours.

Acceptance of proposals of marriage is followed by a more binding betrothal. The relations of the contracting parties meet at the house of the bridegroom's father, who commences the ceremony by producing a tiny stone or metal image of Gunesh, which he washes with water, with milk, and again with water, in imitation of the washing with 'five ambrosial liquids,' prescribed by the Shâstras, and marks in the centre of the forehead with the chândlo. He worships the Dev, under his title of Vighn Râj, the smoother of difficult paths, and frequently repeats the following verse :—

O ' thou of the terrible face, thou of the large body,
 Splendid as ten million suns,
 Cause me to be free from obstacles, O Dev,
 In all works, at all times

The bride's father now pays obeisance to his entertainer, marks his feet with a preparation, the red color of which is symbolical of prosperity, and offers him, in his joined hands, betel-nut, turmeric, and flowers, as an earnest that he has betrothed his daughter. He next places the royal teeluk on the forehead of the young bridegroom and presents him with

the cocoanut which, if he cannot afford to adorn it with precious stones he marks with a red spot upon which he sets a silver coin. The family priest repeats the names of the affianced parties their parents and ancestors and when he has exhausted his list pronounces that the ceremony is concluded. The women of the family, assisted by their neighbours now chaunt an appropriate song and entitle themselves to a much prized dole of sugar and coriander.

The general rule is that betrothal cannot be set aside but the practice of different castes varies. Among Rajpoots if the betrothed bridegroom die the girl who should have been his wife is treated as his widow and considered incapable of entering into the married state. Some Brahmins on the other hand do not consider themselves bound by either betrothal or any other ceremony short of the actual joining of hands in marriage. In most castes a betrothed bride is not treated as a widow on the death of the affianced and in many she may with permission of the caste marry another person even in his life time should he before the marriage is concluded become afflicted with any serious disease.

The Kuruwa Koonbees when they cannot procure a husband for their daughter will sometimes marry her to a bunch of flowers. The next day they throw the flowers into a well and the bridegroom thus disposed of the widow is eligible for *natrā* or second marriage. A similar practice is that of marrying the girl to a person called a hand husband. This bridegroom may be any male of the caste who is willing to contract beforehand that he will receive a certain sum for a divorce and give his bride a release from her marriage the moment the ceremony has been performed. The wife so divorced may then marry in *natrā*.

The object of these proceedings is the avoidance of expense. No money need be spent by the bride's father upon a *natrā* marriage except such as is required for entertaining the friends who accompany the bridegroom. The lady's trousseau is supplied by her husband. An unmarried woman cannot, however be given in *natrā*.

When the bride has attained the age of nine or ten years, an astrologer is called for to point out the day indicated by the

stars as propitious for the marriage. Seasons of family mourning are always carefully avoided. The day fixed, letters of invitation, termed kunkotree, are sprinkled with rose-colored water and forwarded to the kindred of both bridegroom and bride. They run in something like the following strain :—

‘To the dweller at the auspicious Shree Ahmedabad, the
 ‘great and excellent place of residence, to the worship-worthy
 ‘treasury of all good qualities, the benefactor of others, the
 ‘able administrator of affairs of state, the head-jewel of the
 ‘clever, who knows the qualities of the fourteen sciences and
 ‘is deserving of every epithet ;¹ Shetjee, Shree, five times
 ‘repeated, Sâmuldâs Bechurdâs, and Shet Kurumchund
 ‘Purumchund, may your lives be long ! Here from Shree
 ‘Mhowâ the sea-port writes Shâ Âtmârâm Rhoodhurdâs.
 ‘Receive his salutation of “victory to Gopâl !” (Krishn).
 ‘Further, the following is the cause of writing :—All is well
 ‘and prosperous here. Be pleased to write intelligence of your
 ‘prosperity. Understand besides, that sister Kunkoo Bâce’s
 ‘marriage-day is appointed to be Wednesday, the 2nd of the
 ‘dark half of Chyetra. Therefore do you, bringing the whole
 ‘of your family with you, come speedily. By your coming
 ‘the work will be adorned.’

Then follows the date. Sometimes, if previous invitations have not been treated with sufficient attention, the writer adds,—

‘You were not able to attend brother Chugun’s marriage,
 ‘but if you fail to come on the present occasion, you and I will
 ‘not be able to drink water together again. I say little but
 ‘consider it much.’

About twenty days before the marriage, the houses of the parents are carefully cleansed, and adorned by the wealthy with strings of pearls or handsomely embroidered curtains, and by the poor with garlands of leaves. In front a temporary building, called mundup, is erected, which, in the case of poor persons, is merely a thatched hut, but where the higher classes are concerned, is frequently a very brilliant pantomime-like edifice, lined with mirrors and adorned with lamps, rich

¹ This expression being considered somewhat equivocal, it has of late been usual to insert the qualifying word ‘good’ before epithet

curtains, soft carpets, and abundance of tinsel. Near one of the corners of the mundup a wooden post, called a 'jewel pillar,' is set up, adorned with flowers and other ornaments and worshipped. Within the mundup the planets, Gunesh, Vighn Raj¹ and the progenitors are worshipped—the last-mentioned, in order that the household may not, as long as the ceremony lasts, be rendered unclean by the occurrence of a birth or death in the family.

A ceremony called 'Gotruj,' is performed within the dwelling house. A flat surface of wall having been whitened, a pyramid is made upon it of red spots, which increase from one at the apex to seven at the base. Below the base line other seven spots are made with clarified butter, which the heat causes gradually to trickle downwards. The figure, which represents a genealogical tree, becomes the subject of adoration.

The bridegroom or (in her own house) the bride is now adorned as splendidly as the resources of the family will permit. If a Rypoot, the boy wears red silk drawers which like the rest of his attire, are embroidered with gold; if a Brahmin or Waneco a long white cloth with a broad red silk border wrapped round the waist and tucked up between the legs over this he wears a red or yellow body coat a waistband and scarf of the same colors. his turban must be red. The bride's father presents him with a yellow handkerchief called 'Ootu reeya.' The bride wears a white silk bodice and a red or yellow silk petticoat and over these a very long white silk scarf, bordered and spotted with red which is wrapped round the waist, and then passed over the shoulders and head of which it forms the only ordinary covering. During her marriage festivities however the bride wears above the scarf a triangular head-dress, representing a crown over which is thrown a large square red scarf the substitute for a marriage veil. The bride and bridegroom wear each of them on the right wrist a bracelet made of beads which they remove at the conclusion of the ceremony. Among the poorest classes of Hindoos, the children whose marriage is celebrating are

invariably ornamented with, at the least, necklaces of alternate gold and coral beads, which are borrowed or frequently even hired.* The bridegroom now assumes the state and title of 'Wur Raja.' He is attended by companions of his own age,—the children of the bridechamber, and particularly by a friend who bears the title of 'Unwur,' and must be selected from among his juniors, in order that the bride, to whom he acts as accredited ambassador, may be able to receive him unveiled. He is also the bridegroom's purse bearer, makes all his purchases, and presents certain marriage gifts, such as those called 'the brother in law's dagger,' and 'the priest's dress,' which are due at the conclusion of the ceremony.

At night, the bridegroom king publicly appears in his newly acquired royal state. Musicians head the procession—singers and dancing girls, following them come the bridegroom's relations, and visitors, mounted on horses or elephants and surrounded by torch bearers, cavaliers and foot men, guns are discharged, rose colored powder is sprinkled on all sides, the horns scream their loudest, the kettle drums make a deafening rattle, the flaming torches are rendered nearly invisible by the clouds of dust which rise into the air. Soon the bearers of the silver rods in their scarlet coats appear, and, following them with royal umbrella borne above him and horse hair fans waving on either side the Wur Raja mounted on his white and richly ornamented palfrey sweeps gaily past, bearing in his hands the jewel adorned cocoa nut, the emblem of marriage festival. Behind him follow the great camel drums, flaunting in their red drapery, and rolling forth a majestic sound and troops of women chaunting nuptial hymns, bring up the rear.

In these processions of the bridegroom king is dimly recalled somewhat of the regal state of former days—of those pageantries which welcomed to Unhulpoor, Sidh Raj, the 'Victorious Lion' from subjugated Malwa or hauled the sunted Koomar Pal and his train of white robed priests returning from some desperate encounter of wits with the 'evil disposed' servants of Shiva.

The friends of the bridegroom's family, as the procession

passes their houses, come forth and present to him a cocoanut. Every other cavalcade, even that of the lord of the village which meets the bridegroom's procession makes way for it and if two Wur Rajas meet, each gives up half the road to the other. Thus passing through the village the bridal train returns to the house from which it sets forth where it is welcomed by the mother of the boy, who performs a ceremony called

'Nyoonchun,' in which she expresses by significant pantomime the worthlessness in her eyes of even the necessities of life in comparison with her beloved child. Around his head she waves a cake of bread and then a cup of water, both of which she throws from her, she next takes in her hand the 'sumpot,'¹ which is composed of two vessels full of rice fastened together mouth to mouth and expressing the idea of a hoard of any kind and lays it at the feet of the Wur Raja. The boy, however, is not behindhand in his part of the drama—he crushes the 'sumpot' indignantly with his foot, and hastens into the house to embrace his mother.

During the days which remain before that appointed for the marriage the Wur Raja's procession moves forth evening by evening from the house of some hospitable relation who has previously entertained with feasting the strangers who have been invited to the ceremony.

The proper time having arrived the bridegroom is conveyed by his friends in similar state to the village in which the bride resides. He usually arrives there late in the day preceding that of the marriage, and halts outside. The father-in-law attended by his male and female relations with torch-bearers and music, goes forth at night to the bridegroom's camp and conducts him from thence to the house which has been prepared for his reception within the village.² Over the door of

¹ Hindi and Marathi *sampat*, *sampatti* success, prosperity, good fortune.

² The procession of welcome is not confined to marriages but is usual whenever a visitor of any importance arrives. See for instance the story of Jug Dev Parmar vol. i pp. 120-118. It was common in feudal Europe also. The following is an example. Jacques le Clerc vint à Lu le 19 août 1663. La noblesse alla à sa rencontre à cheval jusqu'à Criel et, lorsqu'il fut arrivé au château le maire lui présenta deux barriques d'excellent vin qui avaient coûté dix ecus. —*History of Lu and Triport*

the bride's dwelling there is hung at this time a garland of leaves, which the Wur Raja, if of the warrior class, must break down with his lance, but which in other cases is allowed to remain until it drops from decay.

On the morning of the marriage day the bride is assisted at her toilet by her mother and her female relations, and is invested with her marriage bracelets, which are made of ivory, and coloured red. The bridegroom is also prepared by his friends, with the sound of music and song, and is conducted in state to the house of his affianced. There he is received by the mother of the bride, who performs the Nyoonehun ceremony. She marks the Wur Raja with the royal teeluk, waxes round his head, and then throws from her, a bullock yoke, a pestle, a churning stick, a spindle, the 'sumpot,' an arrow, a cake of flour and one of ashes, which last expresses her desire to throw dust in the eyes of his enemies.

When the Nyoonehun has been completed the bridegroom takes his seat in the pavilion, called the 'Mundup' and his father in law, after having washed his feet and marked the red spot upon his forehead brings the bride forth, and places her at his side. In remembrance of the old rite of 'Gomedh,' or sacrifice of a cow, one of these animals is at the present time brought forth when the bridegroom takes his seat in the pavilion, and fastened beside it. Grass is thrown before the cow, and she is worshipped by the Wur Raja and his friends. A water hour glass is placed beside the bridegroom to announce the fortunate hour, or sometimes that time is selected at which half of the disc of the setting sun has become obscured. The auspicious moment arrived the father of the bride taking her hand places it in that of the Wur Raja, presenting him at the same time with a piece of the sacred basil and saying 'I give a Krishna gift.' After the father has joined their hands the Gar hangs around the necks of the bride and bridegroom the 'Wur Mala,' or marriage garland, which is composed of twenty four threads of red cotton. At the same time the play-fellows of the bridegroom throw a red cloth over their joined hands, and under cover of it present them with betel nut. The pair remain seated in the pavilion for about an hour.

¹ [Hindi and Marathi, *gomedha*, 'the offering or sacrifice of a cow']

Outside the Mundup is formed the 'Chōree,' or marriage hall. Nine metal or earthenware water vessels are set up one above the other, at each of the four corners of a square, and are retained in this position by the support of bamboos. A fire pit is made in the centre, and the bride and bridegroom are seated by its side. The priest performs fire sacrifice before them and fastens the boy's scarf to the marriage veil of the girl. The bride's mother brings a plate of food of which both partake, the girl first helping her husband, and he then presenting food to her. During the whole celebration singing is kept up by the women. Their songs are usually poetical compositions in honour of Seeta or Rookmuneé, the wives of Ram and Krishn or else ludicrous and not unfrequently obscene stanzas. We quote a few verses from a ballad called 'Seeta's Marriage,' by one of the best reputed poets of Goozerat —

I touch the feet of the great preceptor
And to Gunesh I pay obeisance,
I pray for wealth of successful skill
By which the heart's longing may be satisfied
I sing the nuptials of I am

The Irosody's leaves who has not turned
Knows not how to frame the verse
With all my strength I will sing my song
O Irots count not its faults
I sing the nuptials of Itam.

Dusruth King was Uvalhya's lord
His leet was the illustrious Ram
At Janporee ruled Junukjee the King
To whom a Princess Poyal bectajee was born
I sing the nuptials of I am.

Vyekoonth's lord was this illustrious I am
Seeta was incarnate Lukahmee
Assuming human form they wedded
To sing their praises is destructive of sin
I sing the nuptials of Itam.

First I relate how Junuk's daughter was born
Then the story of the marriage
How where sages dwell on the banks of Ganges
So great calamity was caused by Iamun.
I sing the nuptials of Iam &c., &c.

At last the bridegroom and the bride circumambulate the fire pit four times, and the marriage is complete

The Wur, if a Rajpoot chief, instead of going himself to be married, frequently sends his sword, which is treated as his representative, the whole ceremony being gone through with it, as if he were present in person, but the concluding circumambulation is in this case performed twice only, and again twice when the bride joins her husband. The practice originated probably in the necessity of secrecy in certain cases,¹ and it has been retained for convenience sake, and especially as a means of avoiding expense

When the circumambulation is completed, the bride and bridegroom worship the polar star and the seven sages. Their relations, as many as are so disposed, come forward and present offerings to the pair, of which their parents take possession

The bride and bridegroom now visit the lodging of his family, and his mother performs *Nyoonchun* to both. They worship the 'Gotruj' and play a game of chance with betel nut dried dates, and coins—seven of each put in a cup. The women affirm that the mystery in wedded life falls to the victor in this game. The bridegroom's father presents to the guests offerings of clothes, disposed upon a shield or a metal tray, so as to hang down upon all sides

When the Wur Raja's suite is ready to return home the bride's friends sprinkle their guests with rose colored water, and mark them back and front with the impression of a hand. They fasten, also, to the carriage of the bridegroom a large vessel full of sweetmeats and a lamp called 'the lantern of Itam' as a sign that they have introduced light into his home through the marriage which has been completed. They take also from the hands of the bride and bridegroom the cocoa nuts which they have held throughout the ceremony, and place them under the wheels of the carriage that they may be broken. As soon as they have cleared the village, the Wur Raja's relations dismiss the Brahmins, bards, and musicians who have attended them, making them presents. The stragglers are now collected from the village tank, where they have

¹ See that of Rana Rutna of Mewar. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, i 309, with the note by the editor

been washing their hands and faces and making their final preparations for the journey, and the whole party proceed homewards.

The bride goes home with her husband and remains a month, after which she returns to her father's. When she reaches the age of about twelve years her husband's friends send for her. The girl is usually exceedingly indisposed to leaving home and weeps as an English child of the same age might do at going to school. Her father and mother persuade her, reminding her that her sisters and her cousins have gone in like manner and returned and promising that she shall not remain long and that her aunt or any other relation who happens to be married in the same village shall visit her constantly. They will also address themselves to the husband's father, and say, 'You must take care of our girl, she has never been outside the village up to this time nor left her mother for a minute. You must let her go and visit her aunt and take care that people don't frighten her.' The father-in-law protests, in reply, that no one is more interested in her than he himself is and that he will take better care of her than her own father has taken. Other married girls too give her courage and say, 'Never mind. I've been and come back, haven't I?' The child turns to her father and says, 'Bapa! when will you come for me?' 'Do come quick!' He promises to do so in ten or fifteen days though perhaps he has no definite intention of going within a year. The girl makes him swear to her and says, 'Ma! mind you send him and take care of my dolls and toys and don't give them away.' At last she goes off with her husband's friends and from that time she lives for the most part with them, paying only occasional visits to her native village.

Indian women neither receive nor expect that attention from the other sex which the customs of European countries allow of or rather demand. The decided absence of gallantry expressed in a verse of Tootshee dāsa, far renowned poet.

The Story of Rām would have met with the approbation of the Yankee clock-maker himself. It runs thus:

A drum a fox a bear and a woman
These all of them are subjects for beating.

A padishah, so says the story, once commanded his minister to fetch him the most shameless person and the most modest, the greatest coward and the person least accessible to fear in all his realm. The minister bowed obedience, and soon after reappeared leading in a woman. 'How,' said the padishah, 'is this?' 'I asked for four persons.' 'The qualities of the four, may it please your majesty,' replied the minister, 'are concentrated in this one. She will veil herself in the presence of her elder brother, but if she go to a marriage she will sing obscene songs such as a lewd man would be ashamed of. If her husband ask her to give him water in the night-time she is afraid, it is so dark, but if she have a lover to meet it is light enough for her to clamber over a mountain.'

Disrespect to women, however crept in in the Mohummedan times. In older days ranees sat beside rajas in the court, and reeshees wives beside their husbands in the assemblies of sages. To this hour the presence of woman is necessary to the due performance of a fire sacrifice and if none be there a figure is made to represent her and dressed in female vestments. The marriage rite is also sanctified by the necessity which exists for a legitimate son. The Rajpootnee, of whose valour and constancy in days of old so many tales are related, still retains a high reputation even among those who concede but little honour to her. 'unbusiness like' lord. 'The wise woman's son says the trading wanecco is a fool but the foolish woman's son' (alluding to his own wife or mother) 'is wise'.

While the master of the family says Captain Macmurdo in his account of the Province ofutch (*re de Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay vol ii p 226*) is thus careless and lost to every thing that is honorable or respectable his wives (for they the Jharejas have often more than one) are active jealous and intriguing. They are the daughters of the Jhāla, Waghela, Shoda or Gohi Rajpoots who marry the gras and not the man. These wives have each their respective establishment of servants cattle carriages &c and a village or more or less according to the means of the husband. The women of the Rajpoots are much distinguished from those of any other caste of Hindoos. They are high-spirited bold and enterprising and are justly celebrated for a remarkable neatness of person and anxiety about personal appearance even when advanced in life which is met with in no other native. The Rajpootnee has her cosmetics and washes as well as the ladies of Europe and understands the method

The women's subjection is, however, in any case rather apparent than real, and they are themselves not a little anxious to maintain its appearance, resenting any want of imperiousness in the behaviour of their husbands to them in public, and expressing their astonishment at and contempt for the manners of their European rulers in this respect, by inventing a mythological story to account for that which otherwise would appear to be so wholly unintelligible.

'When Rāwun,' say they, 'carried off Seetā, the wife of Rām, he placed her under the care of the demons of Ceylon and their wives, which latter became her personal attendants. Seeta received so much homage, from the latter especially, that she predicted that the demons should, in the iron age, acquire supreme power throughout Hindoostan, and enjoined upon them the respectful treatment of their wives in remembrance of her prophetic boon.'

It is hardly necessary to add, that they trace the fulfilment of Seeta's prediction in the sovereignty of the British, accompanied, as it is, by the well established supremacy of the ladies.

'of making an artificial mole or patch on the most favourable spot to set off the beauty of the skin or countenance, and, next perhaps to the love of wealth and rank, the improvement of her personal charms is the strongest passion in this lady's breast.

They are by no means exempt from the softer passion—but how can they love their drunken lords? and they have no access to gallantry of the higher kind. Sorry I am to be obliged to say that scandal loudly asserts that the fair and interesting *Rajpootnee* is reduced to intrigue with servants and menials.'

The same author adds, that Rajpoot women seldom or never suckle their children for fear of destroying the beauty of their persons. He writes thus in another place,—'Until I came to Kutch I never heard of females procuring abortions merely to prevent their figures and their breasts being injured in appearance. This practice is also peculiar to the grassia class and not frequent, although I have known a woman who acknowledged to five abortions of this kind in her own person.' Idem pp. 229 234.

'Many people in Goozerat believe that Europeans worship Seeta. An English or a Portuguese clergyman is commonly called 'a Seeta Padre, and Brahmans or Wyeragees when asked by Europeans who they are, will frequently, by way of making their position more intelligible to the stranger, tell him that they are 'Seetā Padres.' The notion was induced most probably by the Mariolatry of the Romish Church.

There is, however, at least one occasion upon which the Hindoo wife becomes the object of unusual solicitude and care. When the young married woman has reached the fourth month of her pregnancy a bracelet is fastened upon her arm, to which is affixed, as an amulet to protect her from the evil eye, a packet of dark coloured cloth, containing scrapings from the image of Hunoomin and dust from the cross roads. A feast is given on her investiture with this bracelet, and she is released during the time she wears it from the performance of any part of the household duties, for in India as in England,

Fairies and nymphs with child must have the things
They long for¹

In the sixth or eighth month of her pregnancy the caste are again assembled to a feast and the family priest performs fire-sacrifice before them. The woman is conveyed to the house of some relation where she performs ablutions, and dresses

¹ [The following are the domestic ceremonies (*Samakara*) prescribed in the *Grihya Sūtras* for a boy of the higher castes from his conception to his marriage —

- 1 *Garbhādāna* the impregnation rite.
- 2 *Pūṃsavana* or rite to ensure the birth of a male child
- 3 *Samanlonnājana* or parting the mother's hair
- 4 *Jatakarma* or birth rite
- 5 *Nāma Karana* naming the child
- 6 *Nishakramana* carrying him out to view the sun
- 7 *Anna Prātana* feeding for the first time
- 8 *Chauda tonsure*
- 9 *Kesanta* haircutting
- 10 *Upanayana* thread ceremony and initiation. The Sacred Thread (*Yajñopaveeta*) is put on and the boy receives the *gaṇapati mantra*. He is now born again and becomes a Brahman (*dvija*)
- 11 *Samavartana* home coming. The boy leaves his preceptor's *āśrama* and becomes a householder (*grihastha*)
- 12 *Vivāha* marriage

Only the third, tenth and twelfth of these ceremonies are now performed at the proper times. The others are either neglected or conveniently grouped. Thus the *Simanta* or hair parting ceremony is combined with the *garbhādāna* and *pūṃsavana* ritual. This *Samavartana* also includes two other ceremonies referred to by Forbes viz. *Rakṣa* or guard binding when an amulet is fastened on the pregnant woman's arm and *anavakṣhana* or longing soothing to appease the longing for strange food which accompanies pregnancy — Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* 4th ed. 363.]

herself in handsome clothes and ornaments' She is thence conducted in procession, attended by musicians and singers to the house of her husband Her friends precede her as she walks thither, and strew her path with betel nut and coins At home she is received by her father, who has come from his village for the purpose, and who presents her with clothes jewels money, and other offerings not forgetting the symbolic cocoa nut disposed together upon a shield He also binds a new turban upon her husband's head, and presents her mother in law with a scarf The latter receives the young married woman at the threshold with 'Nyoonehun' and the fire sacrifice called 'Gurbh Sunskār' is performed The woman retires with her own family to her father's house

If a male child be born letters called 'Wudhamunee' announcing the joyful occurrence are despatched at once to the father's house The bearer on his arrival is entertained and presented with a new turban If the father be a chief the royal drum is sounded and prisoners are released Sometimes on the letter announcing the birth of a son the mark of the new born child's feet is made in a liquid of the auspicious colour The Wudhamunee is very similar to the letter of invitation to a marriage which has been already given but in the principal place runs somewhat as follows —

'Sister Kunkoobi has (on such a day and hour) given birth to a son a turban wearer His horoscope promises well

If the child be a girl the expression is a daughter a veil wearer The reason for this addition is that in all places originally people wrote (as they now in many places write) only consonants omitting vowels so that without the further description the word *deekuro* (son) might be read *deekurce* (daughter) and *vice versa*

Some friend immediately the birth has taken place proceeds, bearing a cocoa nut in his hand to the astrologer's who notes down the year the month the day of the month and week and the hour also the signs in which the sun and planets stand From this paper the astrologer subsequently draws out the child's horoscope

On the sixth day after the birth Brumhi is worshipped

If a child die before the Unnprâshun ' ceremony has been performed it is buried in the ground instead of being committed to the funeral pile. A similar custom was it appears observed among the Greeks in regard to infants who died before cutting a tooth. The Romans also had the same custom applied some times to children who did not reach their fortieth day and the observance is particularly mentioned as having obtained in the case of members of the *Gens Cornelia*.

CHAPTER VIII

FUNERALS

All things that we ordained festival
Turn from their office to black funeral
Our instruments to melancholy bells,
Our wedding cheer to a sad burial feast,
Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change,
Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corse
And all things change them to the contrary.¹

In addition to that of children who have not undergone the 'Unnprashun' ceremony, there is also another exception among the Hindoos of Goozerat to the otherwise universal rule of cremation—that of the Suny use. At the devotee's interment no wailings or expressions of grief are allowed. The corpse, seated in a litter, is borne to the grave preceded by musicians and attended by persons who cast rose coloured powder into the air, or demonstrate in other modes their joy. It is placed in the earth in a sitting posture, instead of being consumed on the pile. A small platform raised over the spot, and exhibiting the sculptured feet of the deceased commemorates his sanctity.

When age or infirmities warn a man of the near approach of death he should (so say the Shastras) perform to the best of his ability, 'deh shooddh prayuscheet,' or expiatory penances for the purification of his body. To this end the Yujman, or performer of penance, calls in the assistance of one or more Brahmans skilled in the vedis. He bathes, dresses himself in wet clothes, and fasting, circumambulates the seated Brahmans, and prostrates himself before them. He is instructed to confess the sins whatever they may be, which he has committed from his birth up to that hour,—'in childhood, in youth, or in old age be they secret or open, wilfully or unwittingly committed, whether of thought, of speech, or of act, whether great or small'. In this category he is directed to include not only

¹ [*Romeo and Juliet* Act V, sc 4]

those offences which are acknowledged throughout the world as violations of the universal moral law but also those peculiar crimes which the religion of the Poorans treats as equally heinous *He is called upon to confess if he have slaughtered cows if he have sat in his spiritual preceptor's seat drank fermented liquor cut a tree for fire wood been the cause of loss of caste to man or of loss of life to insect —if he have eaten what was not fit to be eaten served one who was not fit to be served —if he have drunk water while sitting on a couch —if he have ridden astride on a cow a bull a buffalo a donkey or a camel —if he have reclined in a litter borne by Brahmins —if above all he have disappointed a Brahmin's expectations* The Yujman entreats the readers of the Veds to point out to him the means of expiating these sins

From Brumha to the insects

he is taught to say

The n verse is thrall'd by you
The Yubshes the Rakshuses the Pāchās too
Deva Dytes and men together

You know all that relates to religion
You are its conservators O Brahmins all!
For my body purity
Procure O good Brahmins!

By me have been committed very terrible
Wilful or unwitting sins
Show kindness to me!
Give me good instruction

By you who are worship-worthy cleansed
Shall I become O best of the regenerate!

Sometimes he is directed to wash the feet of these impious priests and drinking the thus purified water to acknowledge their supremacy in such language as the following —

On earth whatever Teerthas exist
Those Teerthas into the ocean
From the ocean all Teerthas
Into the twice born a right foot travel

Teerthas Skt *tīrtha* are places of pilgrimage The allusion is to the rivers whose banks abounded with consecrated spots,

Destiny thrall'd is all the world ;
 Charm thrall'd are the Devils ;
 Those very charms are Brahmin thrall'd ;
 Therefore Brahmin is Devā

The Brahmins answer, ' You shall be cleansed ! ' They then prescribe fastings and penances, or enjoin ten thousand repetitions of the sacred Gâyutree, or the offering of a thousand fire-sacrifices ; or, more usually, that most effectual of all pious actions, the fasting of Brahmins. The Yujmān causes himself to be shaved while a Brahmin mutters this charm :—

The various sins,
 Brahmin murder equalling,
 In the hair, sheltered, reside
 Therefore the hair I remove

A tuft, however, must be allowed to remain on the crown of the head. The Yujmān is directed to bathe in the ten prescribed forms,—with ashes of the sacrificial fire, with dust of the earth, with dust of cow-dung, with urine of the cow, with milk, with curds, with clarified butter, with drugs, with sacrificial grass, and with water. Charms must be muttered suited to each ablution. The penitent dresses himself in clean clothes, and worships Vishnō in his emblem—the shūlagrām ; and while the Brahmins offer fire-sacrifice, he must present ' ten gifts,'—

A cow, land, sesamum, gold, clarified butter,
 Garments, grain, sugar,
 Silver, and salt,—these are prescribed
 As the ' ten gifts,' by the learned.

These offerings made, the penitent presents to the Brahmins ' the shadow gift,'—a cup of melted butter, in which he has beheld the reflection of his countenance. He then says to the priests, ' This penance of mine must be rendered valid by ' you.' They reply, ' It is rendered valid.'

The rites above described are performed also by pilgrims on their arrival at the sacred spot, and by those who seek re-institution into the caste-privileges of which they have been temporarily deprived. If a man should die leaving the ' deh ' shooddh prāyuscheet ' unperformed, it becomes the duty of his successor to perform it in his stead at the time when he

celebrates his obsequies, and if *he* neglect this sacred obligation, both father and son descend to the pits of hell

On the road to the city in which Yuma, the king who judges the dead, keeps his court, is a river called Vyeturunee, the means of passing which must be provided in this world¹ 'If any one,'—it is Krishna himself who has said it,—'be by his good destiny incited, while in this world, with the desire of passing Vyeturunee in comfort, let him when the resolve comes into his heart, or at some virtuous time, present a good cow as a gift' The vulgar notion is that the animal precedes the deceased, who grasps its tail and drying up a passage before him, enables him to cross the river of Hades If he relax his hold, the stream, it is believed, returns upon him² The cow should have its horns gilt, and its hoofs shod with silver It should be either black or white With it must be presented to the Brahmin a copper brass vessel, to be used in milking it Black garments must be laid upon it Clothes, for the use of the departed spirit, should be presented at the same time shoes, a ring, and an umbrella, also the seven gifts of grain There must be offered, also, a copper trough, which represents Vyeturunee which is filled with honey and placed upon a heap of cotton A gold image of Yuma must be made, and an iron staff placed in its hand A boat made of sugar cane must also be prepared The Brahmin worships the King of Hades and calls him into the image, thus addressing him —

Rider of the mighty buffalo
Holder of the staff and chain
Red eyed large handed
Dhurum Raj I praise thee³

These arrangements completed, the cow and the image of Yuma must be worshipped, obeisance paid to the Brahmin, and circumambulation of the whole performed The gifts are then presented to the priest, the giver holding in his hand the tail

¹ On the subject of gifts made to supply the necessities of the dead, see note at the end of this Chapter

² We have frequently seen in Goozerat, cowherds whose pasture ground was on the opposite side of a river from that on which their village stood swimming their cattle across the stream, and assisting themselves in the passage by holding on to the tail of one of the animals.

of the cow, with some sacrificial grass and a piece of purple baidi, and repeating this charm —

(On Yuma's road the very terrible,
 I have heard of Vyeturunc river
 To cross it, I offer this cow,
 O twice born! I praise Vyeturunc!)

He next addresses the cow thus —

O Dhenoo! wait thou for me
 On that great road which leads to Yuma's gate,
 To cross I am desirous O Dever!
 To cross Vyeturunc! praises to thee

Lastly, turning to the Brahmin, and paying him obeisance, he presents the cow to him, and says,—

Vishnoo-like, O Brahmin great!
 O earth Dev! cleanser of a line of men!
 For passage of Vyeturunc
 This sable cow to thee I offer!

When a Hindoo appears to be at the point of death his friends prepare a place on the ground by smearing it with cow-dung, they strew it with sacrificial grass with sesamum and barley. The dying man is stripped of his ornaments and of his clothes, with the exception of a single garment. The hair of his head and his moustaches are removed and his body is washed with water. He is then laid upon the place which has been prepared with his feet pointing northwards towards Meru and the abodes of the blessed and his back turned upon the city of Yuma. A small cup containing a cake with a silver coin laid upon it is placed in his hand. Some poor Brahmin is then called in to receive the cup from the hands of the dying man. Rich persons present a cow gold, or other valuable presents and they promise their departing relative that they will carry his bones to Benares and cast them into the Ganges, or that they will make pilgrimage (the merit of which shall be his) to Muthooru, Dwarkâ, Somnath, or other celebrated holy ground. They take vows also, on behalf of the dying man, to fast or to spend money in religious offerings, sealing the promise by presentation of a handful of water. Sometimes they offer gifts of iron to propitiate Yuma whose weapons are of that metal. These offerings are meritorious

alike to the giver and to him on whose behalf they are presented. The son, it is said, who presents gifts by the hands of a dying father should be honoured as the lamp of his race¹.

At the same time they sit near the dying man a lamp supplied with clarified butter pour Ganges water into his mouth, and place therein a leaf of the purple basil and a portion of curd.

It has been pronounced that if even when the life has reached the throat a man declare that he has abandoned the world he reaches Vyekoonth after death and is released from further transmigration. Some persons therefore when they believe that their end is approaching perform the rite of Āthoor Sunyas and calling for an ascetic receive at his hands initiation and the tawny garment which proclaims that they have renounced the world and its concerns¹.

The Hindoos have been taught to believe that the agonies of the death struggle are pangs caused by the tyrannous servants of the King of Hades who are dragging the unwilling soul from its tenement. Stricken with sorrow and with awe they vent these mingled emotions by repeatedly calling upon Ram. A few moments pass and the convulsive throes of the dying man are over the immortal soul is disengaged from its fleshy host and companion. Whither has it departed?

Q u n u n c a l b t i l o c
P a l l d u l a r i g d a n u d u l a ?

Before however we pursue this interesting enquiry let us stay awhile to bestow the corse and observe the mourners until they have commingled it with dust where to this day

¹ These tardy devotees remind us of some of the earlier proselytes of Christianity and in particular of the great Constantine whose reluctance to assume the white vestments of the neophyte and the obligations attendant on a new birth unto righteousness could only be overcome as Gibbon mentions at that latest moment when the stern hand of death was tearing from his shoulders the imperial purple.

All this year (A.D. 1128) says the Anglo Saxon Chronicle King Henry was at Normandy on account of the war between him and his nephew the Earl of Flanders but the earl was wounded in battle by a servant and being so wounded he went to the monastery of St Bertin and forthwith he was made a monk and lived five days after and then died and was buried there—God rest his soul!

When all is over the relations and neighbours assemble at the house of the deceased ; and, like an *entre-acte* to the tragic drama, commences the humming moan of lamentation. The nearer relatives enter the habitation, exclaiming, ' O father ! ' O brother ! ' The women, standing in a circle near the door, bewail the deceased, and sing a funeral dirge, beating their breasts in sad accompaniment to the measure. Young persons are lamented longer and more poignantly than those whose advanced age seems to have pointed them out as the natural victims of the angel of death. The dirge, which usually consists of unconnected exclamations of grief, is sung by one or two women, while the remainder join in chorus. That, of which we proceed to give a part, bewails the death of an early victim, one, it will be observed, who, crowned in former days as a bridegroom-king, is now lamented as a chief and a warrior :—

Alas ' alas ' without the village the wail resounds,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' this is Ramjee's anger,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' with blood the clouds have rained,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' its bounds the sea has abandoned,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' the home leaving bride is plundered,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' Yum Raja's plunderers have come,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' they have slain the bridegroom king,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' his mundup has been cast down,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' the vessels of his Chorro have been broken,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas '
 Alas ' alas ' his life has been treacherously stolen,
 Voi ' the valiant, alas ' alas !

These utterances of grief are rude, but they are far from unaffecting, even to the stranger—the *sea-dwelling* Englishman ; and, as they alternately rise and fall, their sound, stealing from a distance upon his ear, reminds him of that measured melancholy tone which the breakers of ocean produce

on some calm evening, as, by turns, they roll upon and recede from a shingled beach

This 'threnos' finished, the female mourners sit down panting and exhausted, but still weeping, they cry to each other, and chant forth exclamations such as these 'Ah son! who will take care of me now? who will light the funeral pile for me?' 'Ah, husband! you have deserted me treacherously, you have left me with my children unmarried!' or, 'Ah, brother! who will welcome me now, when I return home from my husband's? Ah! the fig tree will grow now in my father's house!'¹

While the women are thus engaged, two or three persons are employed in the interior of the house in preparing the corpse for the funeral pile. A litter of bamboos is made, and the corpse is wrapped in a new scarf of the auspicious colour. Lump offerings of flour and water are prepared of which two, called *shub* and *'panthuk,'* are placed the former on the pallet of sacrificial grass upon which the corpse reclines, and the latter at the threshold of the house.

A married woman returning home from a visit at her father's house is presented with clothes and anointed with red ointment on the forehead. the ceremony is called the *Sāsuraso*. If she die at the house of her parents or in the village where it is situated her family prepare for the corpse the last *sāsuraso*. They anoint its forehead dress it in new clothes, and adorn it with a marriage scarf.

¹ The lamentation for the dead in use among the Greeks appears to have been originally sung by women with vehement expressions of grief but to have been so far systematized as early even as the time of Homer, that singers by profession stood near the bed where the body was laid out and began the lament while the women merely assisted (See Müller). The evil effects produced by the custom of beating the breast still retained by the women of Goozerat has we believe induced some benevolent Hindoos to endeavour to introduce professional mourners who would exactly occupy the place given by the Grecians to the *αἰδοῖ ἐρηρῶν ἱεραρχο*. The prophet Jeremiah is supposed to be repeating part of the usual funeral dirge when he predicts of Jehōakim, the son of Josiah King of Judah that They shall not lament for him 'saying Ah my brother! or, Ah a ster! they shall not lament for him 'saying Ah lord! or Ah his glory! —Vide *Jeremiah* xxxi. v. 18 and note with references to D Oyley and Mant. See also *Amos* v. 16 *Ecclesiastes* xii. 5-6

The corpse prepared and placed upon the litter four persons raise it upon their shoulders¹. They have previously performed ablutions and dressed themselves in silk garments. The corpse is carried forth feet first, one man precedes it bearing an earthen vessel which contains fire. The relations and neighbours follow bare headed without shoes and half naked², running and calling upon their god the son of Dusruth, or sometimes one man alone cries to the rest as they run—'Call on Ram'³ to which they reply in chorus Brother 'Ram'. The women follow the funeral procession to the gate of the village and thence return slowly home.

It is written in the Shastras that the corpse should be set down at cross roads within the village and that the third lump offering called *Khechur*⁴ should be offered there. This custom has however fallen into disuse. The *Gurood Pooran* prescribes that the inhabitants of a village in which a death has taken place are to abstain from food until the corpse has been carried out. At the present time the occupants of the adjoining houses alone observe this practice.

The funeral company when they have passed outside the village make a halt and lay the corpse upon the earth. Some one of them who has preceded the rest sprinkling water of purification from a vessel which he carries in his hand sanctifies the ground. Here the third and fourth lump offerings of which the latter is called *Bhoot* are offered together and the bearers of the corpse reverse its position and carry it henceforth head foremost. Hence they proceed to the place of cremation which is usually on the bank of a river and here they erect the funeral pile which if their means allow it they form of sandal and other costly woods interspersed with cocoanuts. The corpse is separated from the litter to which it was

The Rajpoot warrior says Colonel Tod is carried to his final abode armed at all points as when alive his shield on his back and brand in his hand while his steed though not sacrificed is often presented to the deity and becomes a perquisite of the priest.—*Annals of Rajasthan* Oxford 1890: 83.

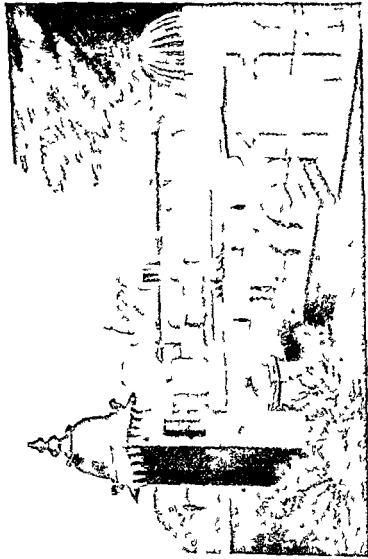
¹ So the Jews in the mourning. Uncover not your heads neither rend your clothes.—*Levit. cix. 6*. I forbear to cry make no mourning for the dead bind the tress of thine head up on thee and put on thy shoes upon thy feet.—*Levit. cix. 17*.

attached and from the scarf which covered it and both these are cast aside it is laid upon the pile with its face towards the abodes of the blessed and it is covered with additional fuel heaped upon it The fifth and sixth lump offerings which are called respectively *Sadhuk* and *Pret* are here set down The son or nearest of kin to the deceased lights a bundle of dry grass and passing three times round the pile places the fire as near as the wind permits him to the head of the corpse The party of mourners sit down and await the issue with lamentation when the corpse is nearly consumed they pour clarified butter upon the pile to feed the fire As soon as the cremation is finished the ashes of the dead are collected from the pile and are cast into the river water or if no stream be at hand they are deposited in a pit dug for the purpose and sprinkled with water He who fired the pile collects seven small pieces of bone and enclosing them in mould commits them to the earth in the place on which the head of the corpse had rested Over the spot the poor raise a simple mound and place thereon a water vessel and a cake of bread but wealthy persons erect upon the site of the funeral pile a temple which is consecrated to *Maha Dev*

The ceremonies above described are intended as a figurative compliance with each of the four modes of disposing of a corpse which are prescribed by the *Shastras*—casting out into the jungle (the type of which is the setting down the corpse outside the village gate) cremation plunging into water and interment

At the funeral of a wealthy person a cow is frequently brought to the pile and its milk sprinkled on the spot where the body has been consumed the cow is then given to a Brahmin The legend of the *Sabl* crmuttee accounts for the name of *Doodhesur*—a well known place of cremation on the banks of that river near the city of *Ahmedabad*—by asserting that when the corpse of the sage *Dudeechoo* was consumed on the pile at that spot the sovereign and the denizens of *Paradise* brought thither *Kam Dhenoo* the sacred cow with whose milk they consecrated the ground

These ceremonies complied with the mourners perform ablutions and wash their clothes and the her presents an



PLAC OF CREMATION NIAR AHMEDABAD

offering of sesamum and water to the deceased 'to cool him after the flames' ¹ The friends who have attended the corpse to the pile rejoin once more, at the house of the deceased, the women and those who have remained behind, and thence disperse to their own homes

A woman, on the death of her husband, breaks the bracelets which were placed on her arms at the time of her marriage If she be a Brahmince she causes her head to be shaved on the tenth day after the funeral For a whole year she mourns, seated in a corner of the house, at the end of that time her relations come 'to put an end to her mourning' and take her with them home If no house be open to receive her she makes a pilgrimage to Boucheryce's, to Prabhas, or to the Nerbudda The widow absents herself from all caste entertainments At the present day, however, in case she has not attained the age of fifteen years, her marriage bracelets are allowed to remain, and she is not treated as a widow, but when she is thirty years old, the occurrence of a death among her near relations—is for instance, that of her father, or her brother—is considered as a proper season for her retirement into the state of widowhood The widow, if she be wealthy, replaces her marriage bracelets with gold ones if of the Rajpoot blood, she wears black clothes if of the Brahmin or Waneë castes she adopts a dress of any sombre colour, unadorned by a figure The Shastras, however, prescribe

¹ Our readers will be reminded of the chalice of oblivion in Moore's *Epicurean* —

Drink of this cup—Osiris sips
The same in his halls below,
And the same he gives to cool the lips
Of the Dead who downward go

Drink of this cup—the water within
Is fresh from Lethe's stream
Twill make the past with all its sin
And all its pain and sorrows seem
Like a long forgotten dream!

No such happy oblivion would however, appear to be held out to the hopes of the Hindoo on the contrary, it would seem to be part of the reward of the virtuous that they should be gifted with reminiscences of a former birth

a white dress to the widow, and forbid her to use any ornament

The time of mourning as regards others than widows, varies from a month to a year, according to the age of the deceased and the degree of consanguinity. Mourners abstain from festivities and from certain kinds of food, and dress themselves in white or sombre coloured garments. Absent relations are informed of the death by letters forwarded by the hands of an out caste, and marked on the outside 'strip' and read'. The object of this inscription is to avoid inconvenience—the person who has received such intelligence being held to be unclean and the dress he wears defiled. These letters are called 'krishnakshuree' (black letters) or by a more common name conveying the idea of impurity. We introduce one of them with the view both of showing their character, and of calling attention to a point upon which we have already remarked—the reckless extravagance which has become almost compulsory upon Hindoos in performing the obsequies of the dead.—

FORM OF KRISHNĀI SHUREE

To Mehta Kulceenrow Keshuvrow and Mehta Jumeetram Nurbheram (the son in law and uncle of the deceased) residing in the city of Ahmedabad Mehta Bhuwaneeram Munchiram (the friend of deceased) writes from Surat. Receive his salutation. Further the cause of writing is this.—On Wednesday, the second of the current month of Chyetra at the sixth hour of the night our good friend Jádóoram Vchemshunkur, became a denizen of Paradise. This has fallen out very ill but what the illustrious Supreme Lord may do must be assented to. In such a matter no one's strength avails. Up to the third watch of the second Jádóoram had no disease, even in the nail of his finger but was hale and well however he was attacked with cholera when two hours of the day

* See on this subject Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan* Oxford 1920 : 110 f., for sumptuary edicts by Maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar and the great Jay Singh of Amber. The latter had an ordinance restricting the number of guests on the occasions to fifty one and restraining the less wealthy classes from the use of expensive food.

remained. We used very many remedies, and made very many vows but as his allotted term of life had come to a close, no remedy availed. Our relations had all gone on a pilgrimage; on this occasion therefore, I and Vivekrām (a neighbour) were the only persons on the spot, and we too had gone out to procure medicine. Meanwhile our good friend, Jādūram, fell into the last agonies, but by his good fortune, and on account of the great number of his virtuous actions in his former states of existence and in his present, we both of us immediately arrived, and carefully attending him in his dying moments, caused him to offer virtuous gifts placed him upon the earth, and poured Ganges water into his mouth. If we had not arrived he would have died on his bed, and we should then have been compelled to perform 'pootul' 'veellin

Console good mistress Uguninta (daughter of deceased and wife of Kulceintow) and do not permit her to wail or beat her breast. Do we what we may we shall never behold his face again, therefore let us be composed and arrange how we are to entertain the caste according to the respectability of the family. If we should be compelled to spend five or ten rupees over and above never mind that because working and labouring we will make that up. But our parents' obsequies will not occur again. There is a house worth Rs. 500 and ornaments worth Rs. 200 and vessels furniture and other things worth Rs. 100—in all property worth Rs. 800. But it will cost Rs. 1100 to feast the caste in Surat for three days, therefore we shall have to borrow Rs. 300 at interest. The boys are young now, but when they grow up they will work and clear off the debt. I entertain no anxiety on this account. It is a proverb that there is no calamity for him who has sons, so as there are sons, what difficulty is there about borrowing or lending? They will clear all off to-morrow. Therefore, if you are good relations come to arrange the obsequies. When you have read this letter prepare in the sixth part of a day. Do not wait to drink water. If you do not come then the blame will be laid on you by the caste. We will have nothing to do with it.

(Signed)

BRUWANGI BĀM MUNCHĀNĀM

NOTE ON THE SUBJECT OF GIFTS MADE TO SUPPLY THE NECESSITIES OF THE DEAD

'A man,' says a Hebrew fable, 'had three friends, two of them he loved exceedingly, to the third he was indifferent, though he was the most sincere. One day he was summoned before the justice for a matter of which he was innocent. "Who among you," said he, "will go with me, and witness for me?" The first of his friends excused himself immediately on the pretence of other business. The second accompanied him to the door of the tribunal, but there he turned and went back for fear of the judge. The third, upon whom he had least depended, went in, spoke for him, and witnessed his innocence so cheerfully, that the judge released him and made him a present besides. Man has three friends in this world. How do they behave in the hour of death, when God summons him before his judgment seat? Gold, his best friend, leaves him first. His relations and friends accompany him to the brink of the grave, and return again to their houses. His good deeds alone accompany him to the throne of the Judge, they go before, speak of him, and find mercy and favour.' So far the fable, of which Mr Trench remarks (*Notes on the Parables*, sixth edition, p. 51), that it is ingenious enough, though a notable specimen of Jewish self righteousness. Grosser conceptions of the truth than this appear, however, to have been popularly entertained even among the children of Israel—the chosen of God. In the contemplation of a future state of happiness, their thoughts still clung to the pleasures, and glories, and occupations of this world, and they were unable to comprehend that the interest of the departed in the affairs of the present life had ceased for ever. Thus, the marital rights acquired on earth, and not voluntarily renounced by bill of divorce, were, in their eyes, valid even after death had separated husband and wife and it was no strange thing to them that a dead Alexander should claim his forgetful Glaphyra from the incestuous embraces of Archelaus. It is not surprising, then, that we should find in the popular creed of *heathen* nations a constantly recurring idea that the spirits of the dead still retain a share in human concerns and may be rendered happy or miserable by the forethought or neglect of mortals. The tribes which have remained unconverted to Christianity, whether of ancient or of modern times, whether enlightened or barbarous, appear to have adopted with one consentient voice the idea that the passage of the soul to its destination after death is to be smoothed, and its necessities provided for, by the due performance of funeral rights. The nations of classical antiquity placed in the mouth of the corpse the piece of money which was destined to be Charon a fee for ferrying the soul over the infernal river, and beside it they laid the cake of flour and honey which was designed to appease the fury of Cerberus, the gate-keeper of Hades. The Romans placed in the sepulchres of the dead, to appease their *manes*, the 'cena feralis' of milk, honey, water, wine, and olives. And the heroes of Scandinavia firmly believed in the assurance, which they had received from Odin himself, that the arms, the war horses,

and the servants, which were buried with them in their graves should avail them in the day on which they were to enter Valhalla, and present themselves before the throne of its warrior god. 'The Laplanders to this day provide their dead with a flint, and everything necessary for lighting them along the dark passage they have to traverse after death,' and the red woodsman of America buries a rifle with his departed friend, that he may be enabled to pursue the chase in the world of spirits. 'The Tartar sovereigns,' remarks M. Huc, 'are sometimes interred in a manner which appears the very height of extravagance and barbarism, the royal corpse is placed in an edifice of brick adorned with stone images of men, lions, tigers, elephants and divers subjects from the Buddhist mythology. With the illustrious defunct they inter, in a large vault in the centre of the building, considerable sums in gold and silver, precious stones and costly habits.

'These monstrous interments frequently cost, also the lives of a number of slaves, children of both sexes, distinguished for their beauty, are taken, and compelled to swallow mercury until they are suffocated, by this means it is asserted, the color and freshness of the victims is preserved so well that they appear alive. They are then ranged standing round the corpse of their master, to serve him as in life. They hold in their hands the pipe (an the little vial of snuff, and the other numerous baubles of Tartar royalty.

'To guard these buried treasures, there is placed in the vault a kind of bow, constructed to discharge a number of arrows one after the other. This bow, or rather these bows are bound together and the arrows fixed. This species of infernal machine is so placed that the act of opening the door of the vault discharges the first arrow, the discharge of the first releases the second and so on to the last. The bow makers keep these murderous machines already prepared and the Chinese sometimes purchase them to guard their houses in their absence.'

The case of the Sutee of which we shall presently have to speak is but another phase of this one great delirium as it has been justly called. It has its parallel alike in Africa and among the negroes of Polynesia:—'It is the custom here (in Jemna) says Mr Lander, when a governor dies for two of his favourite wives to quit the world on the same day, in order that he may have a little pleasant social company in a future state, but the late governors devoted wives had no ambition or inclination to follow their venerable husband to the grave, and went and hid themselves before the funeral ceremonies were performed, and have remained concealed ever since, with the remainder of his women. To-day, however, one of these unfortunates—she to whom our house belongs—was discovered in her hiding place at the present governor's and the alternative of a poisoned chalice, or to have her head broken by the club of the fetish priest was offered her. She has chosen the former mode of dying as being the less terrible of the two.—*Journal of an Expedition to explore the Course and Termination of the Niger*, vol. i, pp 92-3

'As a chief's wives are strangled for the sake of exemplifying their fidelity and accompanying him to the invisible world, so this kind of death is often imposed upon courtiers and aides de camp, and always considered an honour and distinction. One reason of many, and perhaps the greatest, for strangling the wives of chiefs who have children surviving him, is that it is taken for a certain proof that these children are legitimate, and claim their rights as vassals to the places to which their deceased mothers belonged. If a mother neglected being strangled, it would leave a doubt in the minds of the people as to her fidelity, and if any of her children were to go to the places she belonged to, and claim property as their right, the owners would immediately embrace the opportunity of upbraiding the vassal with his mother being an unchaste woman, and saying that they would not allow him to carry anything off, because the infidelity of his mother cut off all his claim and rights as a vassal, and that it was an undeniable proof of her loving some other man better than his father, that she had not been buried with him. The whole thrity of Tui Kila Kila's brother's wives wished to be strangled, but, being a little wiser than the generality of his countrymen and not led away by the customs of his country, Tui Kila Kila advised all who had borne children to his brother to be strangled, as a matter of course. On the other hand, he said that the young women who had borne no children had no occasion to sacrifice their lives, knowing that they would make himself very good wives and add greatly to his advantages—the greatness of a chief being estimated, in a measure, by the number of his women.

'Fourteen of these women readily acceded to this proposal and as far as I could learn were extremely happy to escape with their lives especially in such a reputable way in the eyes of the world being backed by the advice and opinion of such a great prince as Tui Kila Kila whose infallibility dared not be questioned. But one young girl (who made up the fifteen that were to be saved and on whose account it was always supposed, more than for any other reason he proposed to save the others, so as to come at the object of his desire) dared to question his opinion of the propriety of living and violating the laws of betrothment, and demanded the privilege of being strangled. She asked Tui Kila Kila where was the man she cared for was worthy of living for now that his brother was dead? Tui Kila Kila was so piqued at this reflection on his inferiority to his deceased brother that he ordered the two women, whose office it was to strangle her to haul tight at each end of the strip of cloth previously placed round her neck which they obeyed and as soon as she began to show symptoms of agony he ordered them to slacken it thinking, as she had tasted partially the pangs of death, she would repent of her foolishness but with her it was different for she seized the ends, and began hauling tight again so as to complete what the stranglers had begun, and then the chief was satisfied with her foolish obstinacy as he called it and told the women to settle her quickly. This young woman was renowned for her beauty, and certainly she must have been as completely so as

‘possible for a human being to be, except that she was not white,—if that has any thing to do with it,—because, when I pointed out symmetrical forms, and asked if she was anything like them, they always said she was far superior’—*Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Races, in Her Majesty's Ship Havannah By John Alphonse Frskine, Captain R. N. With Maps and Plates John Murray.*

Those heterodox Hindoos, the Jains, would appear to have, perhaps rather from a spirit of opposition to Brahminic customs than from any other cause, juster ideas than are usual upon this subject. According to the account collected from a priest of the sect at Mudgeri, which is printed in the ninth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, ‘they say, that the foolish people of other tribes, being deficient in sacred knowledge, spend money in vain on account of deceased relations for how can a dead man feel satisfaction in ceremonies, and in the feeding of others? —“even a lamp no longer gives light by pouring more oil into it, after its flame is once extinguished,”—therefore it is vain to make feasts and ceremonies for the dead, and if it be wished to please relations, it is best to do so while they are yet living. “What a man drinketh, giveth, and eateth in this world is of advantage to him, but he earneth nothing with him at his end.” These Jains might have expressed their ideas in the words of the British poet,—

For in the silent grave no conversation,
No joyful tread of friends, no voice of lovers,
No careful father's counsel,—nothing is heard,
For nothing is,—but all oblivion,
Dust, and an endless darkness!’

¹ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Thierry and Theodoret*, Act iv, Scene 1.

CHAPTER IX

THE STATE AFTER DEATH—SHRĀDDH—BHOOTS—OTHER POPULAR BELIEFS

It is laid down in the Gurood Poorân¹ and other Hindoo scriptures, that, on the occurrence of a death, the son or other heir of the deceased must offer lump offerings, and that if he neglect to do so the spirit passes into the state of a goblin. We have described the manner in which the first six of these offerings are made. If, after the fourth lump has been offered, the obseques proceed no further—if, for example, any cause occur to prevent cremation—the spirit it is believed, remains a Bhoot. Similarly, if six lumps only be offered, the spirit remains a Pret. For twelve days the soul, it is supposed, is seated on the eaves of the house in which it has parted from the human body. At sunset, therefore the compassionate relatives place upon the roof for its subsistence a vessel of water and another of milk. Other accounts fix the residence of the soul during this calamitous period at the place of the funeral pile, or at cross roads, and some assert that it dwells alternately in the elements of fire, air and water, and in the house which was its home.²

¹ ['The *Garudā* as well as the late and unimportant *Agni Purāṇas* 'practically constitute abstracts of the *Mahābhārata* and *Hārivaṃśa*.' Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 300. The *Garudā Purāṇa* is read by a Brahman in the place where death takes place—its recitation helps the soul to attain Svarga Loka.]

² There is so to speak, a fresh trodden way between the body and the soul which has just forsaken and according to that Jewish legend which may rest on a very deep truth lingers for a while and hovers near the tabernacle where it has dwelt so long and to which it knows itself bound by links that even now have not been divided for ever. Even science itself has arrived at the conjecture, that the last echoes of life ring in the body much longer than is commonly supposed, that for a while it is full of the reminiscences of life. Out of this we may explain how it so frequently comes to pass that all which marked the

One lump-offering should be made daily, until the tenth day from the day of decease, for the construction of a new body for the Pret. The body, at the end of that time, attains to the size of the upper joint of a man's thumb. On the tenth day a lump should be offered for the purpose of satisfying the hunger and thirst which the Pret now begins to feel. The common practice in Goozerat, at the present time, is to make the lump-offering ten times on the tenth day.¹

Shrāddh must be performed on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth day succeeding the decease, and afterwards monthly on the day of the month on which the death occurred, and yearly on its anniversary. The son who neglects to perform shrāddh dies childless, and expiates the sin amid the torments of hell. The gifts which are offered in shrāddh, are for the purpose of supplying the necessities of the Prets in their painful journey to the city of Yuma. They are conveyed by the god of the waters to Krishn, who, in turn, consigns them to the sun—the all-beholding Nārāyṇ—by whom they are delivered to the spirits of the deceased. A bed presented at this time to Brahmins procures for the Pret a litter to ride in; shoes, umbrellas, and fans, are also acceptable offerings, and lamps should be suspended in the temples of Shiva to light the Pret on his road.

Shrāddh must be performed beside a reservoir or on the banks of a river. The sacrificer shaves his face, and, holding in his hand a copper cup containing water, with sesamum and sacrificial grass,² he repeats the names of his progenitors, both paternal and maternal, sprinkling water as he repeats each

death struggle passes presently away, and the true image of the departed, the image it may be of years long before, re appears in perfect calmness and in almost ideal beauty—Trench's *Notes on the Miracles*, fourth edition, p. 187

¹ [The Hindu belief is, that by feeding on the *Pinda*, or ball of cooked rice, the spirit acquires a *sthūla śarīra*, or subtle body, which transforms it from a *preta*, or wandering ghost, to a *pitri*, or glorified ancestor. This rite is termed *sapindi kārana*. The *śrāddha* ceremonies go on for ten days, then they are repeated monthly and after that annually on the anniversary of the decease. For a concise account of the Vedic ritual, as given in the *Manu Smṛiti*, see L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, 1913, pp. 147 ff. There are various local variations.]

² [Tila, *Sesamum indicum*, and darbha or kuśa, *poa cynosuroides*.]

name. The ceremony which is called *Turpun* has been already described in detail. The heir now forms an image of the deceased with sacrificial grass, washes it, and strews it with flowers. A similar representation of a *Vishwa Dev*¹ is also made to witness the performance of the rite. The sacrificer sprinkles these, muttering a charm which has been taught him by his family priest, and which is supposed to call the Dev and the soul of the deceased into the figures. A *Shalagram* stone is placed beside them to represent Vishnu, and the three are worshipped with the usual ceremonies. Food is then set before the grass figures and the *Shalagram*, and the heir sprinkling them once more, repeats the charm which is supposed to dismiss their inhabitants. The grass is thrown before a cow to be eaten. These rites performed, the relations and neighbours of the deceased are entertained, and Brahmins feasted according to the means of the sacrificer.²

If a man be sonless, he must in his own life-time perform shrāddh, and offer lump offerings for the repose of his soul, and he whose obsequies have not been performed either remains as we have seen a hungry ghost, wandering miserably day and night, or is born again and again in the form of an insect, or is conceived in the womb of a woman, and dies before beholding the light, or is born only to die. In other cases of non-performance or mis-performance of obsequies, the soul, having suffered certain pains in hell, returns to earth in goblin form to torment those whose neglect has occasioned its misfortunes. It becomes a fever, or other disease, to afflict them; it causes quarrels among brothers; produces the death of cattle; prevents the birth of male children; excites wicked and murderous thoughts; and destroys men's fith in the

¹ [*Isre de b* a fictitious sacrificial group meant to represent all the gods in order that none should be excluded in invocations intended to be addressed to all. Macdonell *Indic Mythology* p. 170.]

² It may be noticed that the word *superstitio* (the etymology of which has been so much controverted) has been supposed by some to mean the duty of survivors as such to their ancestors. Under this supposition the importance attached in the *Hailoo* law to the worship of trees, or fathers, throws a light upon the primary sense of that word.—Vide *Worcester's Family Dictionary* the *Curses* n. of *Hailoo* p. 196.

sacred writings, in images of Deys, in holy places of pilgrimage, and even in three holy Brahmins¹

The Gurood Pooran contains the further information, that if at the time of his death a man have had his affections excessively fixed on any object of earthly enjoyment, as his son, his wife, or his property, his soul in that case does not readily part from his body, but quits it after a violent struggle, and becomes a Bhoot. The suicide, he who dies of the bite of a snake, or

¹ The opinion that the happiness of the spirits of deceased persons is affected by the neglect of friends, in regard to the performance of their funeral rites, is not confined to India. Mr Grose, the antiquary (as quoted by Brand), has the following —

‘Some ghosts of murdered persons, whose bodies have been secretly buried, cannot be at ease till their bones have been taken up, and deposited in consecrated ground, with all the rites of Christian burial. This idea is the remains of a very old piece of heathen superstition. The ancients believed that Charon was not permitted to ferry over the ghosts of unburied persons, but that they wandered up and down the banks of the river Styx for an hundred years, after which they were admitted to a passage.’

Connected with this belief, is the following superstition on the death of great men — ‘A superstition prevails among the lower classes of many parts of Worcestershire that when storms, heavy rains, or other elemental strife takes place at the death of any great man, the spirit of the storm will not be appeased till the moment of burial. This superstition gained great strength on the occasion of the Duke of Wellington’s funeral, when, after some weeks of heavy rain, and one of the highest floods ever known in this country, the skies began to clear, and both rain and flood abated. The storms which have been noticed to take place at the time of the death of many great men known to our history, may have had something to do with the formation of this curious notion in the minds of the vulgar. It was a common observation hereabout in the week before the interment of his grace, “Oh, the rain won’t give over till the duke is buried.” — *Notes and Queries*

The Demauno (or oracular priest) of the Rajmahal Hills is an exception to the rule. He must not be buried.

‘When a Demauno dies his body is carried into the jungles, and placed under the shade of a tree, where it is covered with leaves and branches, and left on the bedstead in which he died. The objection to interring his remains is a superstitious idea that he becomes a devil, and that, if buried, he would return and destroy the inhabitants of the village, whereas, by placing the body under a tree, he is thus compelled to play the devil in some other — *Indo Asiatic Researches* v, p. 70

is struck by lightning or drowned, or crushed by the fall of earth—he, in fact, who meets with any kind of sudden and miserable death, becomes a Bhoot. He who dies in an upper room or in a bed, instead of being laid out upon the ground, becomes a Bhoot, as does he who after death is defiled by the touch of a Shoodra or any other cause. There are many other modes in which the spirits of deceased men become Bhoots. In the *Kurum Kand* ¹ of the Veds, however, expiatory rites are appointed for such cases of ‘death out of season,’ which if his heir employ, the spirit of the deceased is preserved from passing into the state of a Bhoot ².

Before proceeding to consider the state of the souls which pass to the upper or lower loks—the Deys of Swerga and the denizens of Patal,—it will be convenient that we should devote a few pages to the Bhoots—those ‘perturbed spirits’ who wander still in this world of men.

Bhoots and Prets reside it is said in the place where funeral piles are erected in trees which are not used for sacrificial purposes such as the tamarind and the acacia, in desert places at the spot where death occurred or at cross roads—for which reason people set at these places food for the use of the Bhoot ³.

¹ [The *Kur* or *Ati van sa Satras* of Jaimini dealing with ceremonies and the rewards resulting from their performance.]

² Not only the unburiel but those also who died before their time were in the opinion of the ancient Greeks compelled to wander in the state of goblins. The souls then says Bishop Pearson of those whose bodies were unburiel were thought to be kept out of Hades till their funerals were performed and the souls of those who died an untimely or violent death were kept from the same place until the time of their ‘natural death should come. [Milton, *Comus* 470 ff.]

Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres
Languishing and sitting by a new made grave
As loath to leave the body that it loved

The idea is taken from the *Placido* of Plato.]

³ The Arabian Jinn also frequents cross roads and the faeries of the Scottish low lands carry bows made of the ribs of a man buried where three lairs lands meet. See also *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Act iii sc 2 —

damned spirits all,
That in cross ways and floods have burial

He is most at a loss for water to drink. The pipe of his throat is, it is said, the size of the eye of a needle, and he is continually thirsty enough to drink twelve gallons of water. The watchmen of Wuroon Dev,¹ however, are stationed wherever there is water, to prevent the Bhoots from drinking and their thirst is therefore as continual as it is intense. The Bhoots feed upon all kinds of refuse. The goblin of the best class, he, that is to say, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, but who has been debarred from liberation by his own intense affection for earthly objects is called a 'Poorwuj Dev,'² and resides in his own house or in a sacred fig tree.³

The powers which Bhoots and Prets exercise are the following.—They take possession of a corpse, and speak through its mouth, they exhibit themselves in the form which they possessed when living, they enter into a living man and cause him to speak as they please, sometimes they afflict him with fever, or various other diseases, sometimes they assume the forms of animals, and frighten people by suddenly vanishing in a flash of fire, sometimes, remaining invisible they speak in whispers. A Bhoot has been known to come to fisticuffs with a man and to carry a man off and set him down in a distant

¹ Desert places in Goozerat correspond exactly with the dry places (*τροχίαν τόπον*) assigned to the evil spirits in Matt. ix. 43 Luke xi. 21.

In the dialogue of Dives and Lauper printed by Richard Lynson in 1493 among the superstitions then in use at the beginning of the year the following is mentioned.—*Alle that take hede to dysmal dayes or use nyce observances in the newe moone or in the new yeere as sitting of mete or drynke by nyghte on the benche to fede alholde or gobeljn*—Vide Brand.

² [Varuna Deva Regent of the Ocean.]

³ [Skt. *Purraja*, ancestor. According to the Jains, the spirit of a man who is attached to a house haunts it after death in the form of a serpent. The householder propitiates it by annually feeding a Brahman.]

⁴ See Note A at the end of this chapter, for notices of Bhoots in other parts of India. Our remarks upon the subject in the text are derived principally from an essay entitled *Bhoot Vibundh* or *The Destroyer of Superstitions regarding Daimons* which was written in the language of Goozerat by Treewadee Dulputram Daya a Siroomalee Brahmin of Jhalawar and obtained the prize of the Goozerat Vernacular Society for A. D. 1849. An English translation by the author of the present work who was then secretary to the society was published at Bombay A. D. 1850.

place. It is even said that women are sometimes found with child by Bhoots ¹

The Jain Shâstras teach a different doctrine in regard to spirits from that which is taught by the Poorâns ² They assert

¹ In every age and country, it appears, ladies have been glad to cover a *faux pas* by the assertion of supernatural visitation. 'When Demaratus had thus spoken,' says Herodotus, 'his mother answered him in this manner — 'Son, because you so earnestly desire me to speak the truth I shall conceal nothing from you. The third night after Ariston had conducted me home to his house, a phantom, entirely like him in shape, entered my chamber, and having lain with me, put a crown on my head, and went out again.' ' Similarly in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, the hero

' For that the sisters of my mother (least
Becomes it them) declared that not from Jove
I sprung, but pregnant by some mortal's love
That Semele on Jove had falsely charged
Her fault, the poor device of Cadmus '

In *British History* Merha, and Arthur himself, were both the sons of Bhoots. *vide* Geoffrey's *History*, Book vi, Chap. xviii, and Book viii, Chap. xix, to the former of which cases Spenser thus alludes —

And soothe men say that he was not the sonne
Of mortal sire or other living wighte,
But wondrously begotten and begonne
By false illusion of a guileful sprite
On a faire ladye nun

For Scotland, see the story of the Lady of Drummelnar and the Spirit of the Tweed.—Note M, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. For India, see the case of Sheeladitya in our own work, those also of Usa and Anrud, and of Kamala Kunwari, in Captain Westmacott's Article on Chardwar in Assam, *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society*, iv, 187, *et seq*. Butler thus alludes to these stories —

Not as the ancient heroes did,
Who, that their base births might be hid,
(Knowing that they were of doubtful gender,
And that they came in at a windore)
Made Jupiter himself, and others
O th' gods, gallants to their own mothers,
To get on them a race of champions,
(Of which old Homer first made lampoons.)

Hudibras, Part I, Canto ii v 211 8

² [According to Jain mythology, the demons of Patala are divided into Bhavanapati and Vyantara. Lower down are the Vanavyantara

that there are eight kinds of Vyuntur Devs, and eight of Wān-Vyuntur Devs, who reside below the earth. Each of these has two Indras, or sovereigns, ruling respectively the northern and southern regions, and who are in colour black, white, or blue. The Vyuntur and Wān-Vyuntur Devs appear upon earth, where they possess the bodies of men, exhibit themselves in various shapes, and perform many strange feats, whence their common name of Kootohulee (or surprising) Devs. Below them reside the Bhuvunputee Devs, who, also, sometimes appear on earth. Below them again are the Nārkinā or infernal spirits. Above this earth, in the atmosphere, five kinds of 'Devs of splendour' reside:—the sun, moon, stars and others. Above them, in twelve Dev-Loks, the Devs who ride in chariots dwell; these, sometimes drawn by their own desire, or compelled by charms, appear in the world, but they do harm to no one. Above them are nine classes of Griveks, and five of Unootur Veeemāncees. They are of great power and never visit the earth. Men who have lived a life of austerity and righteousness are born again in these classes of upper or lower Devs, but the sinner is not born in them. Of old, a man who had performed the rite of 'Uthum'¹ by fasting for three days, acquired the power of calling Devs to him, but now, it is said, these Devs never visit the earth at any one's call.²

The Nārakī torture the offending jīva in Hell. In Svarga or Heaven there are two classes of gods, Jyotishā and Vimānavāsī. The latter fall into three divisions, those in Devaloka, Graiveyika, and Anuttaravimāna. See *The Heart of Jainism*, by Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, chapter xiv (Oxford, 1915)]

¹ [Skt. *Ashṭama*, a fast of eight meals, or three days, observed by the Jains]

² 'This first aerial heaven,' says Bishop Pearson, 'where God setteth up his pavilion, where "he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind," is not so far inferior in place as it is in glory to the next, the seat of the sun and moon, the two great lights, and stars innumerable far greater than the one of them. And yet that second heaven is not so far above the first as beneath the "third" into which St Paul was caught. The brightness of the sun doth not so far surpass the blackness of a wandering cloud, as the glory of that heaven of presence surmounts the fading beauty of the starry firmament. For in this great temple of the world, in which the Son of God is the High-Priest, the heaven which we see is but the veil, and that which is above,

'As far as the Hindoo scriptures are concerned, the following appears to me to be the truth :—It is stated there that unclean persons, and those who lie, or are guilty of other sins, die, and after death become goblins, and suffer many calamities. The object is merely to give a sanction to the injunction against uncleanness and sin. Similarly, when it is stated that Bhoots take possession of persons whose lives are evil. Such I conclude to be the intention of the composers of the scriptures, but people have become very superstitious, and great evil has been the result. It seems to me better, therefore, that the belief in Bhoots should not exist. As it is said, superstition is the Bhoot and fear is the Dākin (witch). If people understood what this really means, they would be saved much annoyance.'

'When a person,' says our author in another place, 'gets wind into his head and loses his spirits, and sits silent and solitary, his relations and neighbours ask him, "What is the matter?" He will say that he does not know what can be the matter with him, but that he feels inclined to cry. The enquirers will ask the sufferer where he has been to, and whether he has met with anything startling or alarming. He then begins to consider with himself. Others come and ask him similar questions, and they worry him until he begins to blubber in downright earnest. His friends then come to a decision upon his case, and pronounce him to be possessed by a Bhoot, and the poor man himself believes that it is so. Presently he begins to tremble, and at last becomes convulsed to such a degree that if a person who is not a believer in Bhoots were to try and tremble like him he would not be able to do it, at any rate without great practice. The sufferer firmly believes that the Bhoot which possesses him is causing him to tremble, and that his convulsions are wholly independent of any will of his own.'

¹ The following description of what occurs in Tinnevely is very similar to this :—'If the person happen to feel the commencement of the shivering fit of an ague, or the vertigo of a bilious headache, his untutored imagination teaches him to think himself possessed. He then sways his head from side to side, fixes his eyes into a stare, puts

'A Brahmin, a relation of mine' continues the essayist, 'dying his spirit seven months afterwards possessed his wife, and caused her to tremble. The woman was naturally a person of mild temper and weak frame of body, in her fit, however she became so violent that no one dared to answer or oppose her. A friend of the deceased having visited the house, the woman said to him, 'Ah! brother, recollect what it was I told you that day when we were alone together.' He said 'Yes I recollect.' A Wanceo neighbour at another time came to the house. The woman said to him 'Waneco! why have you not yet told my wife about the money I gave you?' The man said 'Yes! I have got seventy five rupees and a half belonging to you, I will pay your wife.' The woman went on thus having a fit every day, and people were surprised at her saying such things as the above. I examined into the matter, and it appeared that the Brahmin used continually to converse with his friend in private, and that the woman aware of this had spoken at a venture, but the friend was satisfied that she alluded to a conversation in which the Brahmin had mentioned his fears that being sonless he would not obtain liberation after death because it was laid down in the Shastras that —

The sonless obtains not liberation
Paradise is not for him—is not for him

'Everybody suspected that the Wanceo had in his possession money belonging to the deceased a fact which originated in the woman's mind the idea of making the demand and the Wanceo, believing that the Bhoot of the Brahmin had entered the body of his wife thought it safer

himself into a posture and begins the maniac dance and the bystanders run for flowers and fruit for an offering or a cock or goat to sacrifice to his honour. See *The Pinnevelly Shanars* by the Rev R Caldwell B.A. printed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in A. D. 1850. Compare with the text that extremely humorous scene in *Twelfth Night* the 4th of the 3rd Act where Malvolio is accused of being possessed. His madness is unlike that of the Bhoot possessed in that he is merry and not sad but Olivia helps us out of this difficulty when she says —

I am mad as he
If sad and merry madness equal be

'to admit the truth at once.' When I went to the house one day, the people said to me, "Ask, if you have any question to put, and you will get a satisfactory answer." The woman then addressed me as her husband had been in the habit of doing. I said, "There is some mistake in the account between you and me. I am very glad you have come, as you can set it right." The woman, trembling all the time, began to cast up the account in her head, repeating it aloud. I said to her, "Here is the account book in your own hand-writing. Read me what you have written." The woman said, "I can't read what's written in account books." Everybody then began to laugh. I was satisfied that the idea of a possession was in this case false. The woman could not give an answer to any of the questions I put to her. Other people asked her what were the names of her husband's maternal and paternal uncles, and she answered them glibly; but I enquired what was the name of the book which I and her husband had been reading together on such and such a day, and she could make no reply. I then understood that there was no difficulty in her answering such questions as those which she had shewn herself able to answer.

It is customary in Goozerat, where people wish to prevent the removal of a jungle tree, that they should plant a trident

'There is a strong disposition in the human breast to carry on an intercourse with the spirits of the departed. The fulfilment of their last wills, which has devolved on us, the care of their children, in whom even their features and characters actually survive, the development of the schemes which they have left on our hands im- perfect, the enjoyment of the blessings they have bequeathed us, all knit them to us—our very dreams will not permit us, even if we would, to banish them from our presence, our traditions are peopled with them, the inscriptions on our tombstones, now gathered about our churches, the scene of our constant resort—of old ranged along the highway side, amidst the concourse of the gate—rude as those inscriptions often are, and the more to my present purpose for being so, testify the passion there is in the hearts of men to hold dialogues with the dead, the treatises of the most literary nations, and the customs and superstitions of the most savage, alike bespeak it'—*Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in November, 1849, by the Rev J J Blunt, B D, Margaret Professor of Divinity, p 2.*

upon it with vermillion, or, if that be inconvenient, that they should collect a number of stones and throw them down at the root of the tree. Whoever, after this, passes by, is sure to add a stone or two to the heap, believing the place to be the residence of a Bhoot. Some, too, throw without taking heed to what they are doing. If the place be one where stones are not easily procurable, a bit of old rag is thrown so as to adhere to the tree, and every one who passes by follows the example once set. They call the spot the 'Rag uncle's'. In places where trees are scarce these uncles are very common, and people are much annoyed with the dread of touching them. The name 'uncle' is given to the Bhoot by women as a term of respect. Men are less superstitious but no woman ever thinks of passing one of these places without adding at least one stone to the heap or one rag to the Rag uncle's tree. If no rag be forthcoming she will pull a few threads out of her dress and use these instead. In case a woman have forgotten to perform this ceremony she will be overcome with fear of the consequences, begin to tremble and cry out that she is 'uncle,' and that he has taken possession of her body and is vexing her because she neglected to add a stone to his heap¹. Similarly, whenever in any place there is a hillock or mound upon which a few stones have been piled one above the other every passer by considers himself bound to add a stone to the heap considering that the spot is some Dev's residence, and that if any one raise a little temple there his house will flourish. Such monuments

¹ Our own sagacious King James accounts for the women being more superstitious thus—

'The reason is easy for as that sex is frailer than man is so is it easier to be entrapped in these gross snares of the Divell as was over well proved to be true by the serpent's deceiving of Eva at the beginning which makes him homelier with that sexe sens ne

Colonel Tod describes a custom similar to this in Harawati — Half way, we passed a roofless shed of loose stones containing the divinity of the Bhils. It is in the midst of a grove of thorny tangled brushwood whose boughs were here and there decorated with shreds of various coloured cloth offerings of the traveller to the forest divinity for protection against evil spirits by which I suppose the Bhils themselves are meant. He adds in a note The same practice is described by Park as existing in Africa — *Annals of Rajasthan* Oxford 1920 iii 1703 with the note of the ed tor

are also set up in places where a person has been slain or wounded¹

¹ 'Cairns' of this kind are frequently connected with the dead—

On many a cairn's grey pyramid,
Where urns of mighty chiefs lie hid,

says Scott, vide *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto iii, 29, and Note 2, v

Doorgawuttee, Queen Regent of Gurh Mundela, was killed in action against the troops of Akbar, under Asuf Khan, or rather, as an inscription of her family asserts (Vide *As Res* xv, p 437), 'Doorgawuttee, who was mounted on an elephant, severed her own head with a scimitar she held in her hand, she reached the supreme spirit, pierced the sun's orb' [For the story of Rānī Durgāvatī, regent of Gondwāna, who stabbed herself after being defeated by Āsuf Khān, between Garhā and Mandla in the Jabalpur district, 1564, see V A Smith, *Albar* (1917), p 60 ff, Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford 1920, ii 747] 'She was interred at the place where she fell' (says a writer in *Ben As Soc Journal*, vi, 628), 'and on her tomb to this day the passing stranger thinks it necessary to place, as a votive offering, one of the fairest he can find of those beautiful specimens of white crystal in which the hills in this quarter abound Two rocks lie by her side, which are supposed by the people to be her drums converted into stone and strange stories are told of their being still occasionally heard to sound in the stillness of the night by the people of the nearest villages

'The well known practice among the Highlanders says Logan in his *Scottish Gael*, ii, 371, 'of throwing a stone to a cairn on passing, is connected with two different feelings. In the one case, it arose from the respect which was had for the deceased, whose memory they wished to prolong by increasing the size of his funeral mount and hence arose a saying intended to gratify a person while alive that the speaker should not fail to add stones to the cairn It would appear that the soul was considered much pleased with this attention, and with the honour of a great monument, in which respect the old Germans seem to have differed from the Celts, for they raised sods of earth only above the grave, conceiving that large monuments were grievous to the deceased The other motive for throwing stones to augment a cairn was to mark with execration the burial place of a criminal, the practice, according to Dr Smith, having been instituted by the Druids It is curious that the same method should be adopted with views so different, yet the fact is so and the author has often, in his youth, passed the grave of a suicide, on which, according to custom, he never failed to fling a stone The true motive, in this case seems to have been to appease the spirit which, by the Celtic Mythology, was doomed to hover beside the unhallowed sepulchre.'

The following occurs in the notes to an Aberdeenshire poem, called 'the Don,' in reference to the district of Alford —

The Poorwuj Dev, like the Etruscan Lar, or the Grecian hero, is regarded as hovering about his former abode, averting dangers from the inhabitants and bestowing blessings upon them. He frequently appears in the character of a serpent, and is then treated with great respect by the inmates of the house near which he resides. It is common belief in Goozerat that serpents are always to be found wherever a hoard is buried, and that these are the Bhoots of the deceased owners.

In these bounts are many great cairns, such as that of Lanturk, so much talked of. They are of enormous size, some people think they have been beacons to give warning in time of danger, but as many of them are situated in low places I suppose they are the tombs of some great men who have been benefactors to the country where they lived. It is a common saying among the vulgar people to this day, when any person makes them a gift—God I wat gin I live ahint you I so add a stone to your cairn, and to this day many old people never pass by any of these cairns without throwing a stone to it. Many think that the spirit hovers about the place where the body is interred, and the higher the cairn is raised, the spirit is raised the higher from earth to heaven.

Hawke Locker in his *Fishes in Spain* (quoted in Ellis's edition of Brant's *Popular Antiquities*) speaking of Grenadilla, says 'We passed two or three crosses which marked the spot where some unfortunate wretches had met a violent death by the way. Some of these probably were killed by accident but all were described as so many barbarous murders and the fluency of the narrative proved that we were listening to a tale which had been told a hundred times before. The very ancient custom of casting a stone upon these untimely graves is still observed throughout Spain. Affection or superstition induces many to offer this tribute, accompanied by a silent prayer for the dead, but even a mere stranger, exempt from such motives may find a gratification in adding a stone to the heap, from that veneration for the dead which seems to be inherent in our constitution.'

In the instance we are about to quote the stone throwers were actuated by a very different feeling, it is from Lepsius's *Letters from Egypt* (*Bohn* p. 216)

Before entering this mountain range (Gebel el Mageqa) we came to a place covered with heaps of stones which might be supposed to be barrows, though no one has buried beneath them. Whenever the date merchants come this road many of whom we met the following morning with their large round plaited straw baskets their camel drivers, at this spot, demand a trifle from them. He who will give nothing has a cenotaph such as this erected to him out of the surrounding stones as a bad omen for his hard heartedness. We met with a similar assemblage of tombs in the desert of Korusko.

who have remained upon earth from affection to their wealth

'Two guests,' says our author, 'came once on a time to the house of a Shrawuk Wanceo. The master of the house was at the market, and his wife, after she had made her friends sit down, was obliged to go away to the well for water. While the guests sat waiting for the master of the house a large snake made its appearance. One of them jumped up and pinned it to the ground with a stick, while the other set to work to find a split bamboo, which people keep ready in their houses for taking hold of snakes with. Meanwhile the woman came back with the water and seeing the snake pinned to the ground cried out, "Let him go, let him go, he is our Poorwuj Dev, he used to get into my mother in law's head, and set her a trembling, and then he would mention the name of my father in law who died some time ago and say that he was he. He said also that his soul had been wripped up in his property on which account he had become a snake and was going to live in the house. One day he bit a neighbour of ours and the Juttee came to cure the man. Poorwuj Dev then set the neighbour a trembling and said that he had bitten him because he fought with his son and that he would quit him when he got security that there should be no more quarrelling. In this way he quitted him. From that day forth if the snake go to our neighbours houses no one molests him. If at any time you were to set him down at a place twenty miles off he would still come back to this very spot. He has often touched my foot, but he never bit me, and if I happen to be gone to draw water, and the child cries at home, he will rock him in his cradle. This I've seen him do many a time.' In this way she prevented their interfering with the snake, and releasing him, paid him obeisance. The guest, too who had seized him, took off his turban, and said, "O father snake, forgive my having pinned you to the earth. I am your child." After a short time, a cat having killed the snake, the people of the house took the pieces of it and burned them on a pyre, offering in fire sacrifice, a cocoa nut and sandal wood, with clarified butter.'

'A Brahmin having purchased premises in the ancient town of Dholka set to work to make excavations for a new building and in so doing came upon a subterranean chamber which contained a great deal of property. There was however, a large snake stationed there to protect the treasure, which snake appeared to the Brahmin by night in a dream and said to him "This property is mine and I live here for its protection, therefore you must not injure the chamber nor covet the treasure which it contains. If you do so I will cut off all your posterity. In the morning the Brahmin poured a vessel of hot oil into the chamber so that the snake died. He then destroyed the chamber having first removed the treasure and burned the body of the snake in due form in the yard of his house. With the treasure he had thus obtained he erected splendid buildings but he never had a son and his daughter remained childless and whoever received any part of the property or became his servant or acted as his agent or as his family priest was childless too. These things happened it is said about forty years ago.'

Similar stories are very common in Goozerat and it is as we have said the general belief that serpents are always to be found wherever a hoard is buried.¹

For a description of the modes employed in Goozerat in the exorcism of Bhoots who are supposed to have taken possession of the bodies of living men whether derived from the Kurum land of the Veds or from Boudhist or Mohummedan sources we must refer to the Bhoot Nibundh itself. Sometimes the relief of the sufferer is the point principally if not wholly regarded at other times it is sought further to procure release from his painful wanderings for the 'extravagant and erring' spirit. One instance of each of these cases we now venture to lay before our readers.

About thirty years ago says the essayist 'a Charun asserted a claim against the chief of Syela in Katewar which the chief refused to liquidate. The bard thereupon taking forty of his caste with him went to Syela with the intention of sitting in "Dhurna" at the chief's door and preventing

¹ There are several stories of the kind in the *Oriental Memoirs* original edition ii 384 *et seq*

' any one coming out or going in until the claim should be
 ' discharged. However, as they approached the town, the
 ' chief, becoming aware of their intention, caused the gates to
 ' be closed. The bards remained outside; for three days they
 ' abstained from food, on the fourth day they proceeded
 ' to perform "Traga," as follows.—Some hacked their own
 ' arms, others decapitated three old women of the party, and
 ' hung their heads up at the gate as a garland. Certain of
 ' the women cut off their own breasts. The bards also pierced
 ' the throats of four of their old men with spikes and they
 ' took two young girls by the heels, and dashed out their
 ' brains against the town gate. The Charun, to whom the
 ' money was due, dressed himself in clothes wadded with
 ' cotton which he steeped in oil and then set on fire. He thus
 ' burned himself to death. But as he died, he cried out, "I
 ' am now dying, but I will become a headless ghost (*huyees*)
 ' in the palace, and will take the chief's life and cut off his
 ' posterity. After this sacrifice the rest of the bards returned
 ' home.

' On the third day after the Charun's death his Bhoot
 ' threw the Ranee down stairs so that she was very much
 ' injured. Many other persons also beheld the headless
 ' phantom in the palace. At last he entered the chief's hand,
 and set him trembling. At night he would throw stones at
 the palace, and he killed a female servant outright. At
 length, in consequence of the various acts of oppression
 ' which he committed, no one dared to approach the chief's
 ' mansion even in broad day light. In order to exorcise the
 Bhoot *Jogees* *Tuttees* ² *Iukeers* Brahmins mendicants of
 ' every class were sent for from many different places. But
 ' whatever person attempted a cure the Bhoot in the chief's
 ' body would immediately assail and that so furiously that the
 ' exorcist's courage failed him. The Bhoot would also cause
 ' the chief to tear the flesh off his arms with his teeth. Besides
 ' this, four or five persons died of injuries received from the
 ' Bhoot, but no one had the power to expel him. At length

¹ [*Khudosa*, *huyee*, a sprite or goblin, usually viewed as the ghost of
 a dead Musalman.]

² [*Jais*, a wandering mendicant.]

' a foreign Juttee happening to come to that part of the country
 ' the chief sent a carriage for him, and brought him with honor
 ' to his town. The Juttee was a person of great reputation for
 ' skill in charms and sorcery, and he was attended by seven fol-
 ' lowers. Having procured various articles which he required
 he entered the mansion, and worshipped the Dev. First he
 tied all round the house threads, which he had charged with
 a charm, then he sprinkled charmed milk and water all
 round, then he drove a charmed iron nail into the ground
 at each corner of the mansion and two at the door. He
 purified the house and established a Dev there beside whom
 he placed a drawn sword, a lamp of clarified butter, and
 another of oil. he then sat down to mutter his charms. For
 forty one days he continued thus employed and every day
 he went to the funeral ground with many and various sacri-
 ' ficial offerings. The chief lived in a separate room all this
 ' time and continually fancied himself possessed, at which
 ' times he would say, Ah! you shaven¹ fellow, you've come
 ' to turn me out have you? I'm not going though, and
 ' what's more I'll make you pay for it with your life." The
 ' Juttee sat in a room which was closely fastened up, but
 ' people say that when he was at his mutterings stones would
 ' fall thereupon and strike the windows. When his prepara-
 ' tions were finished the Juttee caused his own people to bring
 ' the chief to the upper room which he used and kept all
 ' others out of hearing distance. He sprinkled grain, and
 ' rapped upon a metal cup in order to place the chief under
 ' the influence of the possessing spirit. The patient then
 ' began to be very violent but the Juttee and his people spared
 ' no pains in thrashing him until they had rendered him quite
 ' docile. Then the chief's servants were recalled, a sacrificial
 ' fire pit was made and a lime placed between it and the chief.
 ' The Juttee commanded the Bhoot to enter the lime. The
 ' possessed however, said "Who are you? If one of your
 ' Devs were to come I would not quit this person." Thus
 ' they went on from morning till noon. At last they came

¹ 'Peeled' would have been the term in England. *Iude First Part of Henry 1 I, Act 1, scene 3*—

Peel'd priest, dost thou command me to be shut out?

down out of the mansion, and assembled in the open space in front of it, where they burned various kinds of incense, and sprinkled many charms, until they got the Bhoot out into the lime. When the lime began to jump about, the whole of the spectators praised the Juttee, crying out, "The Bhoot has gone into the lime! The Bhoot has gone into the lime!" The possessed person himself, when he saw the lime hopping about, was astonished, and left off trembling, being perfectly satisfied that the Bhoot had left his body and gone out into the lime. The Juttee then, in presence of all the people of the town, turned the Bhoot out by the eastern door. If the lime went off the road the Juttee would touch it with his stick and put it into the right way again. Several soldiers, with their swords drawn, followed, and drummers beating a warlike measure; they took the chief also with them. On the track of the Bhoot they sprinkled mustard and salt. When they had conveyed the Bhoot in this fashion to the edge of the town-lands, they dug a pit, seven cubits deep, and buried the lime there, throwing into the hole above it mustard and salt, and over these dust and stones, and filling in the space between the stones with lead. At each corner, too, the Juttee drove in an iron nail, two feet long, which he had previously charmed. When the lime reached the limits of the town, some of the townsmen had suggested that it would be satisfactory if the Bhoot were buried outside their bounds; but the people of the neighbouring towns threatened that a serious quarrel would arise if he were buried otherwise than on the chief's own ground. The Juttee, too, said that there was no occasion for alarm, and that the Bhoot could not escape if he were leaded down; besides, that if he were properly buried, he would pine away, and die in a few days. The lime buried, the people returned home, and not one of them ever saw the Bhoot thereafter. The chief gave the Juttee a handsome present, and people were convinced that there were few such powerful exorcists in India; but, says the essayist, 'no one understood what had really been done.' According to our author, the cure was effected by putting quicksilver into the lime.¹

¹ In Tol, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, in. 1731, is a description

'When a man is attacked with fever, or becomes speechless, or appears to have lock jaw, his friends conclude, from these indications, that he is possessed by a Bhoot. They call him by his name, but he does not answer, and then they think it necessary to send for a Brahmin who is learned in the Book of Doorga. If there is any delay in this Brahmin's coming some one suggests that the patient should be fumigated with pepper, or with the dung of a dog, and that the spirit possessing him will then speak. When the man has been thus treated he will sometimes speak and sometimes not. As soon as the Brahmin who knows the book has arrived, he takes his seat on a carpet, cleanly dressed. He places a new red cloth on a low table, and upon it makes the eight leaved Yuntra (or charmed figure) with grains of wheat, writing in the nine chambers, the nine names of Doorga, as follows —1 Syelpootree, 2 Brumhacharenee, 3 Chundraghunta, 4 Kooshmanda, 5 Skund Mata, 6 Katyayunee, 7 Kalrattree, 8 Muhâ Gowree, 9 Siddhida. In the nine chambers he makes also nine heaps of wheat, in each of which he performs the 'invitation' of one of the nine Doorgas. Upon this he places a vessel filled with water and a cocoa nut, or sometimes merely a cocoa nut. Thus he worships. He makes incense of gum resin and a lump of clarified butter. The friends having dressed the possessed person in clean clothes, seat him opposite. The Brahmin begins to read the book. He repeats the charm of nine letters holding rice or water in his hand with which when charmed he sprinkles the possessed until he begins to tremble. To make him tremble well he places a copper or brass dish on an empty vessel and raps upon it. He sprinkles the possessed with rice or water charmed with the nine letter charm, and summons the Bhoot. The possessed in reply, mentions the name of some one of his deceased relations, whom he declares himself to be, and he further states that his life has clung to his house or property, or wife, and that he has therefore become a Bhoot. He tells his friends that

of the expulsion of 'Murret', or the chakra, in a similar manner, and in M. Hue's travels, he relates how the Tartar Lamas expelled, much in the same way, the 'Tchutgour' or Bhoot of that country.

' they are in possession of his property, and that if they do not
 ' attend to what he says in regard to the protection of his son
 ' he will annoy them. He further prescribes to them certain
 means to be used for his own recovery. Some of the rela-
 ' tions assent, and they swear the Bhoot to the agreement by
 ' causing him to place his hand on the platform consecrated to
 ' Doorgi, or on the book. The Chunder Pat (or Book of
 ' Doorgi) is found in the Markunder Poorin. It contains a
 ' verse which states that

The Cruel the Bhoot, the Lulach, the Yukah,
 The Gundhury, the Rakshas the Brum Rakshus,
 The Vyal, the Koochman! the Bhyerav.

' and other unclean spirits fly from the man who is armed
 ' with the Chunder Pat ' 1

When a Bhoot sets a man trembling he will sometimes say,
 ' Take me to Someshwar Puttun, and procure for me libera-
 ' tion. Every one belonging to the family must go, and I will
 ' travel in the body of one of you and obtain liberation ' He
 further enjoins that a certain vow be taken which is to be
 kept until the party reaches the place appointed. One only of
 the party takes the vow which is sometimes to eat only half
 the usual food, sometimes to abstain from the use of milk or of
 curds, coarse sugar or spices. The most strict of all vows is
 that to abstain from clarified butter. Some take a vow to
 convey their food to their mouths by passing it below their
 knees. The vows are usually taken by a woman of the family.
 Another vow is that of eating in a standing position out of a
 black earthen plate and with the left hand only. Some men
 vow to abandon the use of a turban in which case they substi-
 tute a small cloth, others vow to wear no shoes or to travel
 on foot to the place of pilgrimage. Women vow to wear no
 bodice. When the person who has taken the vow finds oppor-
 tunity he proceeds to the holy place, and absolves himself. If
 before he set out thither any other member of the family be
 attacked with sickness the possessed tells the person who has
 made the vow that this is because of his nonperformance of
 it, and that it is he (the Bhoot) who is causing pain to the

¹ *Vide Transaction, Bombay Literary Society, iii, 73*

sufferer. The person bound by the vow will then set off immediately.

Another practice is as follows.—When a person falls sick, some relation waving a jewel round his head puts it away, and vows not to use it after the recovery of the sick person until he shall have entertained so many Brahmins. A poor man uses a metal cup or other vessel for the same purpose. The ceremony is called 'Oochecto'.

Pilgrimages to Prubhas or Someshwur Puttun generally commence on the eleventh of the light half of Kartick and continue during five days—those days being dedicated to the 'Poorwuj' or ancestral Deys. Generally speaking the whole family including the man's brothers and their wives must go for if one of the party happen to remain at home the Bhoot will frequently remain also and not go to Prubhas with the rest¹. The party proceed thither on foot shoeless without turbans or in whatever other way their vow may direct. They are received at Prubhas by a class of Brahmins called Sompurs who whenever a caravan arrives select certain of the members of it whom they claim as their disciples on

¹ It is very difficult they say to get rid of a Nis when one wishes it. (The Nis is the same being in Scandinavia which is called Kobold in Germany Brownie in Scotland &c.) A man who lived in a house in which a Nis carried his pranks to great lengths resolved to quit the tenement and leave him there alone. Several cart loads of furniture were already gone and the man was come to take away the last which consisted chiefly of empty tubs, barrels and things of that sort. The load was now all ready and the man had just bidden farewell to his house and to the Nis hoping for comfort in his new habitation when happening from some cause or other to go to the back of the cart there he saw the Nis sitting in one of the tubs in the cart plainly with the intention of going along with him wherever he went. The good man was surprised and disconcerted beyond measure at seeing that all his labour was to no purpose but the Nis began to laugh heartily popped his head up out of the tub and cried to the bewildered farmer 'Ha we're moving to-day you see.'

This story is current in Germany, England and Ireland. In the German story the farmer set fire to his barn to burn the Kobold in it. As he was driving off he turned round to look at the blaze and to his no small mortification saw the Kobold behind him in the cart crying 'It was time for us to come out it was time for us to come out!'—Vide *Keightley's Fairy Mythology*.

the ground that the strangers' ancestors (as appears from the Brahmins' books) had, at such and such times, visited the holy place, and appointed the Brahmins their Gors.¹ On the morning of the day following, the pilgrims, having shaved and removed their moustaches, go to the river Suruswatee, and perform 'Deh shooddh Prayuscheet' and 'Shridh' (ceremonies which have been described), they then bathe in the river under the Gor's directions—husband and wife, if such be the form of their vow, wearing one long garment. The Gor says to the pilgrims, 'Advance into the river, and make obeisance to the Dev of the holy place.' While the pilgrim pays his adorations accordingly, the priest repeats this verse —

Ganges, Jumna, Godaveree, Suruswatee,
Nerbudda, and sea going Kaverie, enter into this water

He then repeats, in Sanscrit, the names of the year, month, day of the month, and day of the week, and continues thus — 'I bathe in this place of pilgrimage for the purpose of removing whatever sins I may have committed of thought, word, or deed, of obtaining the favor of the Supreme Lord, of purifying my body, of procuring liberation for the ancestral Devs.' He then says to the bather, 'Now complete your bathing.' In this manner he causes the whole party to bathe, one after the other. As the pilgrims ascend out of the water after bathing they are beset by a crowd of mendicants, commonly Brahmins, among whom they distribute what money they have. There is a sacred fig tree there, which people suppose to be of the time of Shree Krishn. The pilgrims worship this tree, and pour water upon its roots, under the idea that the Poorwah Devs drink water so poured. They then circumambulate the tree. When the possessed person beholds this tree he becomes immediately under the influence of the Bhoot, and begins to tremble and roll his eyes. The Gor addresses him, and says, 'Now, do you remain here, and whatever virtuous actions you may prescribe shall be performed for you.' If the Bhoot assent, he will direct that one hundred and eight Brahmins be entertained, or that a bullock and heifer

¹ [The Rajp r, Ryguru, priests who officiate for chiefs (Bombay Gazetteer, ix, part 1, 16 f.)]

be married. In the latter case, the relations go through the whole marriage ceremonial as if for human beings, and at the close one man takes in his hand the tails of the two animals, and the family perform the rite called 'Turpun,' using for the occasion water, milk, and oil of sesamum. The whole of these ceremonies are described in the Kurum Kand of the Veds, of which the following is a verse —

'Those of my ancestors who have become Bhoots, those who have become Prets,—may they all be relieved of their thirst by my performing *Turpun* over the tails of the bullock and heifer !

There are about one hundred and twenty verses of this kind, more or less of which are muttered by the person performing the ceremonial. The family also mention the names of their ancestors or as many of them as they can recollect, and they make in the same place one hundred and eight lump oblations and assign them to different Poorwaj Deys, and for those which remain unassigned they repeat a verse of the Kurum Kand, such as the following —

'They who have been struck dead by lightning or by the hands of thieves or by the tooth or horn of an animal—these are they for whose release I offer this lump oblation.'

Perhaps however, the Bhoot will say. This place does not please me, I shall go home and live in my own house, so you must make a sacred place for me there. Then the Gor falls to coaxing the Bhoot very much, and says. Would you desert such a delightful place of pilgrimage as this, a place on the very banks of Suruswateejee ? No ! no ! you will remain here surely. Some Bhoots notwithstanding, insist upon returning home. If the Bhoot be pleased to remain the party perform 'virtuous actions' such as he may order at Prabhās.

In the evening the pilgrims of whom thousands are collected, worship the Suruswatee, after which ceremony they make lamps of clarified butter in leaf vessels, and set them all out in the stream, so that the whole surface of the river is brilliantly illuminated.

The pilgrimage is now complete and the party returns home.

* This is no doubt derived from the explanation of Chanukya, for which see note, vol. i p. 70.

In cases where the possessing Bhoot is supposed to be of low caste, the most successful exorcists are persons called Bhoowos¹ who are considered to be favourites of some one or other of the 'Shoodra Deves'—the local goddesses such as Boucherajee, Khoddear, Gudayhee, Sheekatur, Meladee, and others. The Bhoowo is of all castes, from the Brahmin downwards. The Devee to whom he is devoted has an altar in his house, at which her pleasure is consulted before he ventures on an act of exorcism. If the answer be in the affirmative the Bhoowo proceeds to the residence of the patient attended by drummers, who beat their instruments and chant a song of the Devee, as—

Mother of the Mansurowur²
Dweller in the Mid Choonwal,
Steadfast Boucherajee, come!
Thou whose chamber faces the east!

or

True Devee Khoddear³
Who dwellest among the hills
Who when invoked exhibitest thy truth,
Come swift speeding mother

The Bhoowo who has seated himself opposite to the possessed person as soon as he hears the music assumes the character of one inspired by the Devee and begins to employ different means of terrifying the Bhoot. The operation lasts sometimes for five or six days. At length the possessed cries out (in the character of the Bhoot) 'I'm off! I'm off!' and having been duly sworn to expend a certain sum of money in the Devee's service is admitted to be convalescent.⁴

¹ [Bhur, an exorcist.]

² [Mansarovar or Mirajal Sur, the lake at Virmangam constructed by Vishal Devi mother of Siddha Raja vol. i. pp. 107-8.]

³ [Khodhad Mat, the malignant mother goddess, has her shrine at Rajapara near Sihor and is the tribal deity of the Gohil sept of Rajputs (Boissac, *Gautier*, ix, part 1. 130).]

⁴ Satan the common ape of the Almighty imitates him also in this point as an observation made by Bishop Hall in reference to faith which we might continually employ in reference to other subjects. It is recorded of Yehoshaphat king of Judah that he called for a minstrel. And it came to pass when the minstrel played that the hand of the Lord came upon him. It was not for their ears it was for his own bosom.

Many Koolees and shepherds in the wild hill country have altars in their houses consecrated to these 'Matas,'—Melāde,

says the above mentioned author, 'that Elsha called for musick, that his spirits after their zealous agitation, might be sweetly composed and put into a meet temper for receiving the calm visions of God'

The damsel possessed with a spirit of divination,' or 'of Python' mentioned in Acts xvi 16, seems to have some points of resemblance to the Devese possessed person we are describing

The proceedings of a Bhoowo of low caste appear to have given rise to the following action at law, which is reported in the 1st volume of *Selected Cases* decided by the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut of Bombay, at p 91, as follows —

Peetāmbur Nurotum, Appellant,

versus

'Mukundas Koober and Racejee Mukun, Respondents
'AHMEDABAD

This was an action brought by Appellant against Respondents for 'defamation of character, damages were laid at rupees 995

'The parties were Dusha Dishawul Wanecās, and the Appellant set forth in his plaint that one Eeshwur Mooljee of their caste went, about 'the 8th Kartik Shood, 1880 (4th Nov, 1820) to the Nat Gor (priest of the caste) Nanabhaoe Vishnooram to obtain permission, according 'to custom to give a caste dinner, that leave was accorded, when 'Respondents told Eeshwur that if he would leave out Appellant's family they would dine with him, that upon enquiring the cause they assigned as a reason that *some one was ill in Appellant's house when he got a Bungeed (or out-caste) to beat a tom tom*' (a ceremony of exorcism, says the reporter in a note, when an evil spirit is suspected of disturbing a family) *by which he lost caste*, that the priest and others tried to persuade them that the mere act of having a tom tom beaten 'did not cause loss of caste' (a *tom-tom*, it may be explained, is a drum, so called because used by criers, who beat 'tam tam' first at one place then at another, *tām* meaning 'place'), but Respondents would not listen to them and consequently Eeshwur Mooljee did not 'give his caste dinner, nor did others who had intended to have done so, 'and consequently Appellant brought this action for defamation

'The Respondents denied ever having defamed Appellant, and further 'that not being putels or leading people of the caste even if they had 'said what was asserted, it would not have had any effect, and that the 'Appellant had, since the day mentioned in the plaint, received invitations to caste dinners moreover, they accused Eeshwur Mooljee and 'Appellant of having brought this charge against them through enmity 'Appellant replied and Respondent rejoined when the case was 'brought on for hearing before the second Assistant Judge who took 'the evidence of Eeshwur Mooljee and the Nat Gor, Nanabhaoe Vish

Sheekotur and others. The altar is called 'deroo' and usually takes the form of a small terrace in the interior of the house, which supports a little wooden image painted red, and is covered with a canopy. These persons, when at enmity with any one, frequently threaten to send their 'deroo' to his house. Even if no threat be employed, it is commonly believed that the Miti of a person who owns a 'deroo' is sure to take vengeance upon his enemies. The house to which a 'deroo' has been sent rocks as if shaken with an earthquake, the tiles clatter, the stalled beasts tremble, and the householder himself is violently agitated by the Dever. Something of this kind then follows. The bystanders ask the possessed who he is? he, convulsed, and throwing his limbs wildly about, cries out, 'I am Sheekotur, and have been sent here by Bechurcoo—' 'Kooloo—if amends be made to Bechurcoo and he call me back, I will go, otherwise I will take the lives of all the people in the house and destroy all the cattle.' Bechurcoo is sent for, and told to demand whatever he will, but to call off the 'deroo.' Bechurcoo now begins to be possessed himself; he lights a piece of rag, saturated with oil and waves it

'nooram, to prove the slander by Respondents, and that, in consequence of that report, caste dinners which had been proposed had not taken place, as stated in the plaint, and dismissed fourteen other witnesses to the same point, whose evidence was not required by him, these two having, in his opinion, proved the point. Appellant further called four other witnesses to prove that the Bungeed who beat the tom tom did not come into the house, but beat it outside, and never threw water on his (Appellant's) wife, who was the sick person, so that the house could not have been polluted. The Assistant Judge considered this evidence sufficient to this point, he therefore, dismissed the other two witnesses which Appellant had in attendance, and gave judgment, that Appellant had proved the defamation of his character, and, further, that there were no grounds for such defamation, as no act of exorcism alone was sufficient to occasion estrangement from caste, he, therefore, in consideration of the defamation and Appellant's loss of dinner, awarded rupees 99 damages with all costs, and dismissed the witnesses which Respondents had summoned to prove the negative of the plaint, as the Court considered them unnecessary.'

This decree of the Assistant Judge was reversed by the Judge, but, in substance, ultimately upheld by the Court of Appeal, which (A. D. 1832) awarded the Plaintiff one rupee damages and all costs.

¹ [Guj. Dehru.]

over the heads of the people of the house and of their cattle, he then thrusts it two or three times into his mouth, and takes it out again lighted to show that he has taken back the 'deroo' into his own body. The lookers-on are astonished at this performance. Sometimes the friends of the afflicted person post off to complain to the chief of the village. The Thakor, somewhat unwillingly, sends for Bechureco, and, assuming as well as he can an air of unconcern and authority, orders him to remove the 'deroo'—he is, however, desperately afraid all the time lest the 'deroo' should be sent to his own house. Bechureco, on the other hand, thinks that it may not be safe to trifle too far with the chief, so he promises to take away his Mâtâ.

Sometimes, however, the Thakor has a 'deroo' of his own. A chief of our acquaintance had a very valuable possession in the person of one 'Kesur Bice Mâtâ.' When his cultivators showed a disposition to leave his village, he frightened them into remaining by hinting that the Mâtâ might follow them. It is said, too, that he sometimes met the demands of his creditors in a similar manner.

Bhoowos are occasionally employed to relieve persons who are annoyed by a 'deroo.'

It is believed that a woman who is born upon one of a list of days laid down in the astrological books is a 'poison-daughter,' or gifted with the evil-eye. Such a person is called a Dikin, or witch, and it is supposed that they on whom she casts her eyes suffer as if they were possessed by a Bhoot. Some persons, when they feel unwell, think that the effect is produced by a witch having set her Devatâ them. Witches are most commonly of the Chârûn, or Waglhuree castes. Many precautions are employed to avert the effects of the evil-eye; the best preservatives are iron articles, marks made with black colour, charms, or amulets.

There are six descriptions of charms, or 'muntras,' known in Goozerat, which are described in a series of works forming the scriptures on the subject, or 'Muntra Shâstres.' A charm called 'Mârûn Muntra' has the power of taking away life; 'Mârûn Muntra' produces ocular or auricular illusions; 'Mârûn Muntra' stops what is in motion; 'Âkurshun

'Muntra' calls for makes present anything; 'Wusheekurun' 'Muntra' has the power of enthralling; and 'Oochâtun' 'Muntra' of causing bodily injury short of death

Dadba, the eldest son of Wujey Singh, Rawul of Bhow-nugger, died at Seehore in A n 1815. About that time Naroooba, his younger half brother, had employed five and-twenty Brahmuns at Bhownugger in the performance of certain religious ceremonies. Dadba also had visited Bhownugger, shortly before his death, to be present at the annual ceremony of the Rawuls worshipping the sea and it was there that he was taken ill. The people of Seehore, putting these facts together, came to the conclusion that Naroooba had employed the Brahmuns to take away his brother's life by charms, and that Naneeba the mother of Naroooba had put vetches, charmed for the purpose, among the flowers which were scattered upon the young chief during the celebration. Dadba's mother collected a crowd of persons strangers and people of the country, Brahmuns, Juttees, and Dukeers who were supposed to be possessed of skill in charms and offered them any sum of money she possessed to save the life of her son. The essayist, from whom our account of these popular beliefs is mostly derived was one of the Brahmuns thus called in by the rānee. They were altogether about a hundred in number. The Brahmuns sprinkled an image of Muba Dev muttering a charm called the conqueror of death some of them worshipped 'the Crane faced Devee' and other goddesses. A Waneeo, from Calcutta who was present distinguished himself by the variety of his resources. Prince Dadba however, died, notwithstanding all the means employed to prolong his life. It was then currently reported that Naroooba had made a fire sacrifice in which he had offered goats with their mouths stuffed full of rice in the husk, and that the Brahmuns whom he had employed had washed themselves in oil and blood. The principal of these Brahmuns, a person named Geerjā Shunker, was so apprehensive that the friends of the deceased prince would put him to death, that he procured five soldiers from Naroooba to remain continually with him for his protection.

* [Skt *Alarsha* α, 'drawing attracting' *vais* *larana* 'subjugation', *uchchal* *ina*, uprooting.]

He is, to this day, pointed at by people as the Brahmin who destroyed Prince Diddi by his charms.

Many similar instances of the employment of 'Mārun' 'Muntra' are believed to have happened—in fact, whenever a person dies a sudden death it is supposed that he has been destroyed by this charm. It is also believed that 'Marun

Muntras' have the power of causing trees to wither or rocks to split and of producing many other effects which it would be an endless task to describe.

'Molun Muntras' are described in the Shāstras but the people of Gozerat it would appear, have much more knowledge of the matter at the present time than the writers of these works were possessed of. Those who are skilled in the use of this charm will throw a jewel into a well and reproduce it again from another place, and will mention the names of persons whom it might be supposed they had never heard of. They will also burn clothes to rags and produce them again entire—they will cause a mango tree to spring up in a moment, create a snake out of a piece of leather change pebbles into silver coins produce various articles from an empty hand and perform many other achievements of the like nature which the spectators believe impossible without the assistance of a Dev.

By the 'Stumbhun Muntra' it is said an advancing army may be stopped the voice may be taken away from an instrument of music the skill of an opposing disputant snatched from him the course of running water arrested a flying thief compelled to stand.

The following story is commonly told in regard to the 'Akurshun Muntra'.—A certain rinee had sent her maid into the market to purchase some scented oil. The maid as she returned met a Juttee who asked permission to dip a straw into the oil and on her allowing him to do so stirred the oil muttering the Akurshun Muntra all the while. The maid unaware of what had been done carried the oil to her mistress, but the latter having taken it into her hand observed that the oil revolved in the vessel and inquired of the maid who had met her on the road. The maid said that the Gooroojee had dipped a straw into the oil but that she had met no one

but him. The rānee threw the oil upon a large stone, which in the night, owing to the power of the charm, travelled away to the Juttee's convent. When the raja was made aware of what had happened, he put the monk to death.

It was by this charm, as we have seen, that Umur Singh Shewuro, the adviser of Bheem Dev II., 'drew to himself 'men, women, and Deys.' His master also was accused of dealing in charms.¹

A certain raja, it is said, had two rānees. A Brahmin gave to each of them a Wusheekurun note, in which he had written, 'If the elder queen be preferred, it is all right, and if the 'younger be preferred, then, too, it is all right.' Both rānees were satisfied that they had obtained what they desired. The raja having got scent of the matter had the notes taken out of the lockets, and the contents of them read, when they afforded matter for laughter. Similarly, persons pretending to occult science when consulted by women who were desirous of giving birth to sons, have been known to present them with charmed notes, which were not to be opened until the child was born. In these notes they wrote '*pootra nuheen pootree*,' which may be read, 'not a son but a daughter,' or vice versa. Sometimes the wise man tells the father, under a pledge of secrecy, that his child will be a son, and the mother, under a similar pledge, that it will be a daughter. When the event occurs the disappointed party is informed that he or she had not faith, and that the coming event was on that account concealed from them.²

¹ Vide vol. i, p. 202

² Andrews, in his continuation of Dr Henry's *History of Great Britain*, p. 353 quoting Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, says 'The stories which our facetious author relates of ridiculous charms, which, by help of credulity, operated wonders, are extremely laughable. In one of them a poor woman is commemorated who cured all diseases by muttering a certain form of words over the party afflicted, for which service she always received one penny and a loaf of bread. At length, terrified by menaces of flames, both in this world and the next, she owned that her whole conjuration consisted in these potent lines, which she always repeated in a low voice near the head of her patient —

Thy loaf in my hand,
And thy penny in my purse,
Thou art never the better—
And I am never the worse.

We may describe one more charm, which is very commonly used in exorcising Bhoots—it is a Boudhist charm and is called that of Ghunta Kurun Veer, or 'the bell eared spirit'. The rites employed in the construction of this charm must be commenced in the light or the dark half of the month according as the result sought to be obtained is innocent or noxious. The magician takes his place in a garden, a temple, or some well purified place in a house—he must be quite private. He first washes his body, repeating this muntra—

Hring Hring Kling—praise to the water of Ganges!

Then he proceeds to dress himself in clean clothes, muttering another muntra—

Om Hring Kling praise to Anund Dev!

Next he worships the ground, saying—

Om Hring Shring praise to the earth and the other Deys!

He now seats himself and burns incense, lights lamps of oil and clarified butter, reflects upon Ghunta Kurun Veer, and draws upon paper or palmyra leaf a portrait of him with bells

The reader will recollect the use made of these lines in one of the closing scenes of the *Bride of Lammermoor*. See also an oracular answer of this kind in Sir George Head's translation of *Iphigenia*.

It is told of the first of the English architects, that when he had completed the building of Windsor Castle, he caused these words to be inscribed on one of the walls—

This made Wykeham

His enemies endeavoured to represent this as a proof of his arrogance, but Wykeham stoutly explained his meaning to be, not that he had made the castle, but that the castle had been the making of him.

The answer given to *Croesus* when he marched against Cyrus is well known. 'Cyrus is by passing the Helles wall overthrow a great kingdom.' Croesus supposed by this that he should overthrow the power of the enemy, but in reality he overthrew his own power. The other event the oracle would have appeared true.

So also in Shakespeare—

The Duke yet lives, that Henry shall depose;
But he must die, and die a violent death.
Why, this is just.

410 to Lucius Junius Brutus

Second Part of King Henry VI. Act I, sc. 4

in his ears, around which he writes the following charm, which he repeats :—

‘Om ! I praise Ghuntâ Kurun, the great Veer, the destroyer of all diseases. If eruptions on the body cause alarm, save us, save us, mighty one ! From where thou standest, O Dev ! pictured amid lines of letters, thence fly diseases of breath, bile, or phlegm. There dread of the ray exists not. He whose ear receives the sound of thy charms, in him Shikence, Bhoot, Vyetil, or Hâkshus finds no place to dwell—no unseasonable death is there for him ; no snake bites him ; fire and thieves cause him no alarm. Hring ! O Ghuntâ Kurun, I worship thee ! Tah, tah, tah, Swahâ !’

This muntra must be repeated thirty three thousand times in forty-two days. Fire sacrifice is then performed, and the virtue of the charm is complete. The Ghuntâ Kurun charm, if worn in a locket, protects the wearer from all tyranny on the part of Bhoots, Prets, or mortal oppressors—it procures a man wisdom, brings his enemy into subjection to him, or even (which is sometimes a more difficult matter) subdues to him his own wife. It is sometimes posted against the wall of a house, for the purpose of excluding snakes, rats, and other vermin, as well as Bhoots.

¹ Plutarch mentions the *Bulla*, which was suspended from the necks of the more noble Roman boys, as a *phylactery*, or ‘preservative of good order, and as it were a bridle on incontinence.’ But it is not improbable that some of the Jews in our Saviour’s time, as they certainly did afterwards, regarded their phylacteries as amulets or charms, which would keep or preserve them from evil. There is a remarkable passage in a rabbinical Targum, written about 500 years after Christ, which may both serve to illustrate what our Lord says, Matt. xxiii. 5, and to shew what was the notion of the more modern Jews concerning their phylacteries. It runs thus—‘The congregation of Israel hath said, I am chosen above all people, because I bind the *phylacteries* on my left hand and on my head, and the scroll is fixed on the right side of my door, the third part of which is opposite to my bed chamber, that the evil spirits may not have power to hurt me.’—See Parkhurst’s *Greek Lexicon*, also Bishop Patrick, and Calmet, quoted by D Oyley and Mant, in a note on the passage in St. Matthew.

Many houses in Edinburgh, built previously to the Reformation, have legends over the door, such as ‘In thee, O Lord, is all my trust,’ ‘In Deo est honor et gloria,’ ‘Bliss be ye Lord in al his gifts.’ They are said to have been placed there as charms or talismans, with a view

The apparently meaningless and unconnected jargon of which these muntras are composed is notwithstanding said to be constructed and used according to a system possessing almost scientific regularity.

Our author asserts that Bhoots are less numerous in the present day than they were formerly. One of the causes which are popularly supposed to have produced this effect is sufficiently amusing. Some ignorant people suppose that Bhoots

fled away from the noise of the English drum because on one side of it there is cow skin (at the sound of which the Hindoo Deity is took to flight) and on the other side pig skin (which frightened away the Mohammedan divinities), and thus they say is the reason that Bhoots have diminished in number and muntras proved false. Similarly, Claudius Buchanan in his journal of visits to certain churches of the

to exclude evil spirits from the houses, and this tradition appears to receive confirmation from the circumstance that the name of the Deity is always introduced—See Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*.

The early Christians observed St. Stephen marked their very doors with the precious and life giving cross, as the Jews before them had been in the habit of striking the lintel and the two side posts with the blood of the paschal lamb. We have ourselves frequently seen in a Mohammedan house scraps of the Koran pasted near the door to keep out the cholera.

In their expedition in search of the sources of the Niger the Laniers stopping at a village called Moussa occupied a large round hut which they thus describe (vol. i. p. 9). In the centre of it is the trunk of a large tree which supports the roof. It has two apertures for doors which are opposite each other and directly over them suspended from the wall are a couple of charms written in the Arabic character on bits of paper which are to preserve the premises from being destroyed by fire—See also vol. i. of the same work pp. 231.

In Russia still more practical use is made of a similar religious charm. The travellers in many instances particularly those of the public bazaars do not reside at their business premises (Hindoo like) which are thus left without protection but though availing themselves of all the precautions of India and Persia they trust less to them than to the superstition of their countrymen. They all treasure their doors and windows with utterance and as St. Nicholas the national saint is supposed to be peculiarly the protector of such securities, no thief would venture to commit the sacrilege of breaking them while here an icha or would offer no impediment to his violence. In the days of paganism the worship of Mercury would have been analogous.—*Journal* by Thompson. Smith Elder & Co., 1844.

St. Thome Christians,¹ tells us that he observed that the bells of most of their churches were placed within the building, and not in a tower—the reason, they said, was this—when ‘a Hindoo temple happens to be near a church, the Hindoos do not like the bell to sound loud, for they say it frightens their god’²

NOTE A

The following remarks upon the Bhoot Nibundh are from an article on ‘Dæmonic Possession Oracles, and Medical Thaumaturgy in India,’ published in the first number of the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review*, in October, 1850—

‘Previously to the appearance of the *Bhoot Nibundh*, a series of papers was commenced in the *Dublin University Magazine*, and has since been continued, though unfortunately at intervals too wide apart³ for the unity of the subject on WAREN, a term used among the Mahrattas to comprehend the whole field of pneumatology—Waren literally corresponding with *श्रुति*—under the spiritual machinery of a dæmonic possession, possession malignant and dæmonic possession beneficent and divine, though this apparent duality the writer maintains to be

¹ [St. Thomé Christians are the Nestorians of the Malabar Coast. They claim that they were converted by the Apostle Thomas, who afterwards went to Mysapore (St. Thomas Mount), near Madras, and was martyred there. Other accounts say that he was put to death by the Parthian king Gondophernes. Many of these Nestorians have been converted by the Portuguese at Goa to Catholicism—since the visit of Claudius Buchanan, whose *Christian Researches in India*, 1811, excited great interest they have also received much attention from Anglican missions.]

² Hindoos will sometimes stop their ears when they hear the Muezzin’s call to prayers. The Sikh government positively prohibited its being pronounced aloud. *Icde Shore’s Votes on Indian Affairs* vol. ii p. 412.

When in the middle of the ninth century the Christian church secured through the instrumentality of St. Anselm, complete toleration in Jutland—it obtained, amongst other privileges the free use of bells ‘which the heathen in dread of sorcery, would never before permit.’ The soul bell in England which was rung while the corpse was conducted to the church, and during the bringing it out of the church to the grave, was supposed to scare away the devils.—*Icde Brand’s Popular Antiquities*. The Trolls have been almost all driven out of Scandinavia by the ringing of the bells in the church steeples and the korrigans of Brittany seem to have been rendered very insecure in their position from the same cause.—*Icde Keightley’s Fairy Mythology*.

³ Ranging from March 1845, to April 1850.

merely on the surface, and to indicate rather two stages of human culture, whether these different stages succeed each other at different periods as regards the whole mass of society, or co exist in its various component parts at one time, producing on the mass at different epochs, or on different classes of men at one and the same epoch, two very divergent spiritual impressions, from the same physical and psychological phenomena. The *Bhoot Aibundh* affords ample confirmation of the facts alleged in these papers on *Waren*, which were at first received with some degree of surprise, if not of incredulity, among European readers living far *alike from the scene of such occurrences, and from that epoch of civilization in which alone they could have place, and who from education, had been accustomed to a view of daimonic possessions not perhaps in its inmost significance materially different from that taken by the writer, but extremely so as to the mode, the order, and the immediate instruments of the spiritual agency or influence,—(the dominion of that murderer from the beginning, who hath the power of death, and goeth about *sicut leo rugiens*, scourging and oppressing man under every form of permitted physical evil)—which all alike acknowledge to be exerted in these manifestations*

* Among the Cingalese the same beliefs and nearly the same processes obtain as among the Mahrattas and the people of Goozerat. An English clergyman, resident in Ceylon who had long observed with wonder and interest the prevalence and influence of these singular ideas among the surrounding population, recognized, in the descriptions of *Waren*, the very phenomena which had so often attracted his attention in his own locality, and bore testimony to a traveller whose letter is now before us, to the identity of the two systems.

* They are not, however, even at this day, wholly limited to India. The performances of the fasting chiefs of the Native American tribes and of the Siberian magicians as described by recent travellers, bear a considerable resemblance to those attributed to the Bhukts who court and attain to *Waren*.

* But perhaps the most singular and complete analogy to the Hindoo system of Bhoots is to be found in a quarter where we should have been little prepared to meet it in the nineteenth century. In the course of last year, two or three long papers appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine*, on the *Popular Superstitions of the Irish*, and the details there given regarding the class of fairies called *Bhans* or earth deities and their power over human bodies, exhibit a wonderful correspondence, not only in the general train of popular thought but sometimes even in the most minute and singular particulars,—especially the possession of women, alienated consciousness, fevers and other obstinate or anomalous diseases,—with those described in the *Waren* papers and the *Bhoot Aibundh*. It is both curious and satisfactory to see the facts stated in the first attempt to portray the daimonology of India many of them of a very singular character confirmed by parallelisms in places so remote from each other. We might indeed have expected *a priori* that the daimonological creed, and manifestations witnessed in the

villages of the Dekkan and Konkun, should have their correlatives in those of Brahminical Goozerat, and even in Buddhistical Ceylon; we might not have been violently surprised to discover analogous effects produced by violent religious, or rather fanatical, excitement, among the sublime forests and cataracts which are the home of the Indian savage, or on the dreary steppes of Siberia, among races whom no ray of divine knowledge, or diviner love, has ever visited, but it is truly astonishing to find the very same beliefs prevailing, though under a supernatural drapery slightly different, in a Christian island so remote from Hindoostan,

—partita del mundo, última Irlanda'

The original meaning of the word ' Bhoot ' is ' an element ' Bhoots are not, in Goozerat at least, regarded as ' devils ' (the idea of a spiritual arch enemy of God and man having there no existence), but rather as *daimons*, ' spirits of men or women deceased,—human ghosts in fact,—' still unhappily entangled in human passions, desires, or anxieties —

Alas ' poor ghost '

' and seeking to inflict pain, to practice delusion, or to enjoy pleasure, ' through the instrumentality of a living human body, of which they ' take temporary possession

In other parts of India they are known under different forms ' The ' worship of demons, says the Abbe Dubois speaking of the Hindoos of Mysore, ' is universally established and practised among them They ' call them *Bhuta*, which also signifies *element* as if the elements were, ' in fact, nothing else but wicked spirits personified, from whose wrath ' and fury all the disturbances of nature arise Malign spirits are also ' called by the generic names of *Pisacha* and *Daitya*

' In many parts we meet with temples specially devoted to the worship ' of wicked spirits There are districts also in which it almost exclusively ' predominates Such is that long chain of mountains which extend on ' the west of the Mysore, where the greater part of the inhabitants ' practice no other worship than that of the devil Every house and each ' family has its own particular *Bhuta*, who stands for its tutelary god, ' and to whom, daily, prayers and propitiatory sacrifices are offered, ' not only to incline him to withhold his own machinations, but to defend ' them from the evils which the *Bhutas* of their neighbours or enemies ' might inflict In those parts the image of the demon is everywhere ' seen, represented in a hideous form, and often by a shapeless stone ' Each of these fiends has his particular name, and some who are more ' powerful and atrocious than others are preferred in the same proportion

All evil demons love bloody offerings, and, therefore, their ardent ' worshippers sacrifice living victims, such as buffaloes, hogs, rams, ' cocks, and the like When rice is offered it must be tinged with blood, ' and they are also soothed with inebriating drinks In offerings of ' flowers the red only are presented to them.

' The worship of the *Bhutas*, and the manner of conducting it, are

* explained in the fourth Veda of the Hindoos, called Atharwana Veda, and it is on this account very carefully concealed by the Brahmīna.

* I have very generally found that the direct worship of demons is most prevalent in deserts, solitary places, and mountainous tracts; the reason of which is, that in such parts the people are less civilized than those of the plains, more ignorant and timid, and therefore more prone to superstition. They are therefore more easily led to attribute all their misadventures and afflictions to the displeasure of their demon.

* Many hordes of savages, who are scattered among the forests on the coast of Malabar, and in the woods and mountains of Kadu, Kuruberu, Soliguera and Iruler, acknowledge no other deity but the Bhutas [Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1906, pp. 644 f.]

The following occurs in the tenth report of the German Evangelical Mission, in the same part of the country, printed at Bangalore in 1870.

* At Uchilla, a village thirty miles to the north of Bangalore, a small congregation has been gathered within the last year, and a large piece of waste land was kindly granted to the mission some time ago. Corajea Pujari, one of the great men of that neighbourhood, has given up his idolatry, destroyed his *Bhuta* temple, and come over to the side of the 'gospel.' Then follows the case of 'Takire, a Billavur,' of the village of Bolma, who, after long deliberation, 'at last felt love for the Gospel,' but for another year kept perfect silence until three weeks ago, when his parents desired him to worship the house *Bhuta*, by submitting himself to be possessed according to the custom. Then, at once, he declared that he would no longer so degrade himself,—that all this 'worship was a lie and a sin.'

The Rev. Mr. Caldwell, in his most interesting account of the Shanars of Tinnevely (a country still further south than Mysore, and adjacent to Cape Comorin) seems to distinguish between 'demons' of two classes, the latter of which (though he still calls them 'devils') almost exactly correspond with the *Bhoots* of Guzerat. The former, he says, are forms of Kālee, and particularly of Bhudra Kālee, and are known by the name of 'Ammen' or mother; their worship is marked by some distinctive peculiarities, and probably resembles that of the *Māls* or local goddesses, the Boucherājee, the Khoderar, &c. of Guzerat. 'A large majority, however, of the devils are of purely Shanar or Tamil origin and totally unconnected with Prahminism in any of its phases or modifications,' and of these he gives the following description —

* The majority of the devils are supposed to have been originally human beings, and the class of persons most frequently supposed to have been transformed into devils are those who have met with a sudden or violent death, especially if they had made themselves dreaded in their lifetime. (See the case of *S. Vengal of Chidambore*, vol. II, p. 134.)

Devils may in consequence be either male or female, of low or high caste, of Hindu, or foreign lineage. Their character and mode of life seem to be little, if at all, modified by differences of this nature.

'All are powerful, malicious, and interfering; and all are desirous of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances. The only differences apparent are in the structure of the temple or image built to their honor, the insignia worn by their priests, the minutiae of the ceremonies observed in their worship, the preference of the sacrifice of a goat by one, a hog by another, and a cock by a third, or in the addition of libations of ardent spirits for which Pariat demons stipulate. As for their abode, the majority of the devils are supposed to dwell in trees, some wander to and fro, and go up and down in uninhabited wastes, some skulk in shady retreats. Sometimes they take up their abode in the rude temples erected to their honour, or in houses, and it often happens that a devil will take a fancy to dispossess the soul and inhabit the body of one of his votaries, in which case the personal consciousness of the possessed party ceases, and the screaming, gesticulating, and pythoning, are supposed to be the demon's acts.'

Bhoots are to be met with it would appear, also, in northern Hindoo stan — 'Besides these drawbacks to the holding office in Chota Nagpore,' says a writer on the north western provinces in India, 'there was another, and to some minds, a much greater evil to be incurred. The belief in spells, incantations, and magic is rife throughout all India, nor are the most educated free from this delusion. It is universally credited in the more civilized parts of the country that the people of the south are powerful in spells, and that among the hills and forests, ghosts or "bhoots," a kind of mischievous devils, abound.'

Bishop Gobat, in his *Journal of a Residence in Abyssinia*, alludes to the belief, prevalent in that country, in a race of 'Sorcerers' (as he terms them), called by the natives 'Boudas'.

It is supposed that these Boudas render themselves invisible at pleasure, that when any one kills an ox, &c., he often finds an empty part in it, or full of water which ought to have been filled with flesh—it is the Boudas who have eaten it, that men, without illness, and with a good appetite, become like skeletons—they are internally devoured by the Boudas, and, especially that hyænas are often killed whose ears are pierced, sometimes even they have earrings. The Abyssinians believe that the greater part of the hyænas are Boudas metamorphosed, and that persons, under the influence of Boudas, utter cries resembling the howling of the hyæna. They believe, also, that all the Falashas (a tribe of Jews), many Mussulmans, and even some Christians are Boudas. Dr Gobat relates that when he was suffering from a violent attack of fever, he was supposed by the persons who attended him to be under the influence of these sorcerers. It appears that the Bishop was successful in persuading the people about him that there were really no human beings who could make themselves invisible, or assume the form of hyænas to prey upon their fellow men, but that he was unable to persuade them that Boudas did not exist, or that they had not the power of occasioning diseases. Dr Gobat was, perhaps, by no means curious

¹ *Ben nts Magazine*, vol. in, p. 340, Article, 'Recollections of an official visit to the Ramgurbh District.'

in examining what the theory of these Abyssinians really was, but, from the replies which he has reported to his arguments, it appears probable that the people believed in other Boudas beside these human ones, and identified them with the dæmons or evil spirits of the New Testament. The similarity between Bhoots and Boudas, in both name and character, suggests the inquiry whether both may not have had a common origin in the days of the now almost forgotten traffic between the shores of India and the once powerful Abyssinian empire.

Dr Gobat remarks (and it is an illustration of the practical effect of superstition in rendering people unhappy) that the Abyssinians are usually of a sprightly character, 'but when they are indisposed they are doubly miserable from the idea that they are under the influence of sorcerers and evil spirits.

Nathaniel Pearce in his *Small but true Account of the Ways and Manners of the Abyssinians* published in vol. iii of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, has the following on the same subject. —

There are various kinds of complaints in Abyssinia, which, they say, are caused by the devil, one of which I shall give a true account of. One called *buder* in Iegri and *tubish* in Amurrer, I think myself is only convulsions, similar to people I have seen troubled with fits in my own country, but they say to the contrary, and will have it that the complaint is caught from the people who work in iron, such as make knives, spears, ploughshares, &c, and those who work in making earthenware. Those people all go by the name of *buder* and *tubish*, and are hated worse than Mussulmen and though they profess the Christian religion, they are not allowed to receive the Sacrament.

Pearce then goes on to describe the *tepreter*, another complaint in regard to which he admits, that he thinks the devil must have some hand in it. It may be noted that *tubish* and *buders* are probably transpositions merely of the same word.

On the subject of Fetish possessions in Africa see *Lander's Travels*, vol. ii, p. 120, 123 & 231.

The following contains an account of Bhoots in Tonquin. —

* *Bau* (*Phou* ?), and pretends to call the souls of the dead out of their bodies to which they are troublesome

* *Tay Phou Thony* (at *Tanquin*) the name of the other *magician*, to whom they have recourse in their sickness, if he says the devil is the occasion of the distemper, then he orders them to sacrifice, offering him a table well furnished with rice and meat, which the *magician* knows how to make use of, if, after this, the sick does not recover, all the friends and kindred of the sick person, with several soldiers, surround the house, and discharge their muskets thrice to frighten the evil spirit away

* The *magician* makes the patient (especially if a seaman or fisherman lies sick) sometimes foolishly believe that he is troubled by the god of water, then he orders that tapestries be spread and huts built, and good tables kept for three days, at certain distances from the sick man's house to the next river, to induce this demon to retire and see him safe into his dominions again

* But, the better to know the cause of these distempers this *magician* sends them very often to the *Tay Dou*, who answers that they are the souls of the dead that cause the sickness, and promises that he will use his art to draw off these troublesome ghosts to himself and make them pass into his own body (for they believe the transmigration of souls), and when he catches that ghost that did the mischief he shuts it up in a bottle of water, until the person is cured, if the person recovers, the *magician* breaks the bottle and sets the ghost at liberty to go whither it will. And if the person dies, after the *magician* has enjoined the ghost to do no more harm, he sends it away —A *Barley's English Dictionary*, by Mr Buchanan, fifth edition London W Johnston, Ludgate street, 1760

As *Barley's* work is not now very common we take the present opportunity of quoting from it the following curious and interesting article on the transmigration of souls, which contains much that is to our purpose —

* *Metempsychosis*—the transmission of souls from one body to another, whatever the modern Jews may say of it, it is not taught in any place either of the Old or New Testament

* There is great probability that the Jews imbibed this notion in Chaldea, during their long captivity in Babylon, or from that intercourse they had with the Greeks, who themselves had borrowed it from the Orientals. It is certain that at the time of Jesus Christ this opinion was very common among the Jews. This appears plain from their saying that some thought Jesus Christ to be John the Baptist, others Elias, others Jeremias or some of the old prophets. And when Herod the tetrarch heard speak of the miracles of Jesus Christ he said that John the Baptist, whom he had beheaded, was risen again

* Josephus and Philo, who are the most ancient and the most knowing of all the Jews, next to the sacred authors, now extant, speak of the *metempsychosis* as an opinion that was very common in their nation. The Pharisees held, according to Josephus, that the souls of good men

' might easily return into another body after the death of that they had forsaken. He says elsewhere that the souls of wicked men sometimes enter into the bodies of living men whom they possess and torment. Philo says that the souls that descended out of the air into the bodies which they animate return again into the air after the death of those bodies, that some of them always retain a great abhorrence for matter, and dread to be plunged again into bodies, but that others return with inclination and follow the natural desire of which they are influenced. The Jewish doctors wrap this doctrine up in obscure and mysterious terms. They believe that God has determined for all souls a degree of perfection to which they cannot attain in the course of one life only that they are therefore obliged to return several times upon the earth and to animate several bodies successively, that they may fulfil all righteousness and practice the commandments both negative and affirmative, without which they cannot arrive at the state to which God intends they should come. Whence is it they say that we see some people die in the most vigorous time of their youth? It is because they have already acquired their degree of perfection and having nothing remaining to be done in a frail and mortal body. Others, like Moses they say die with reluctance because they have not yet accomplished all their duties. Others on the contrary, like Daniel, die with satisfaction and even desire death because nothing remains for them to do in this world.

The Metempsychosis or revolution of souls is performed after two manners. The first is when a soul comes into a body already animated—thus it was that Herod the tetrarch imagined that the soul of John the Baptist was entered into the body of Jesus Christ in order to work miracles. At other times they say souls enter into other bodies already animated there to acquire some new degree of perfection which they wanted thus they said the soul of Moses to be united to that of the Messiah &c. The second manner of transmigration is when a soul enters into a body newly formed either to expiate some crime it had committed in another body or to acquire a greater degree of sanctity. The Jews think this revolution is performed at least three or four times. They say that some souls of a more exalted nature have a great contempt for matter and do not return to animate bodies but with great reluctance. Others that are more gross and carnal always reserve an inclination towards the body and return thither often without any reason but to gratify this desire. They even extend this transmigration to brute beasts and to inanimate things and the number is not small of those that maintain this opinion. The most famous of the Jewish doctors have held it and pretend that Pythagoras Plato and Virgil and the ancient philosophers that espoused it had derived it from the writings of their prophets.

This notion is very ancient in the East. The Chinese teach that Nekiāh an Indian philosopher who was born about 1000 years before Jesus Christ was the first broacher of this doctrine in the Indies that from thence it spread into China in the 56th year after Jesus Christ.

'The Chinese pretend that Nohiah was born 8 000 times, and that at his last birth he appeared in the form of a white elephant. It is upon this principle that the Indians and Chinese are so little scrupulous of putting themselves to death, and that they so often kill their children when they find themselves under any difficulty of maintaining them. It is related that a king of this country having had the small pox and seeing his face to be much disfigured, could not endure any longer to live under such a frightful figure, but ordered his brother's son to cut his throat, who afterwards was burnt. The story of the Indian philosopher, Calanus is well known, who burned himself in the time of Alexander the Great. The Indians look upon death with much indifference being persuaded of the metempsychosis which passes among them as a thing not to be doubted. Hence it is that they abstain from killing any living creature, for fear of violating the souls of their fathers or of some near relation inhabiting those animals. They do not so much as defend themselves against wild beasts and charitably redeem animals out of the hands of strangers who are about to kill them.'

NOTE B

As a witness in favour of the philosophic and incredulous view we may call Bentham. If, says that author we go deeper into the human breast, we shall find in it a secret disposition to believe the marvellous as if it extended our power and gave us the command of supernatural means. Besides, when these beings of pure creation are the subject, reason is not sufficiently unbiassed to scrutinize the testimony. Fear comes in the way. Doubt appears dangerous, we are afraid lest we offend these invisible agents and there are numerous stories in the public mouth of the vengeance which they have taken on unbelievers. These are the causes which have established the belief in spectres, ghosts, *possessed persons*, devils, vampires, magicians, sorcerers,—all those frightful beings who have ceased to play a part in courts, but still appear in the cottage.

The effects to which a perverted belief in supernatural agencies may lead has been described by Heber, in his usual mellow and musical tones, but he is far from recommending on that account an incredulity which is opposed to the highest of all authority —

'A belief in evil spirits, whether true or false, is one of a gloomy and disquieting character. It is one which may produce the worst results when indiscreetly and too curiously contemplated. It has drawn some into the most loathsome guilt, and plunged others into the acutest suffering. It has been the usual source of religious and magical imposture and its abuses may be traced through innumerable shades of human misery from the fears of childhood to the ravings of frenzy.'

But, continues the same author, 'if in the history of the supposed demoniac of Gadara we apprehend no other person to be concerned but our Lord and His distracted patient, if it were no more than the

'diseased imagination of the sufferer which answered in the demon's name, and if it were the ravings of frenzy only which desired that his tormentor might take shelter in the swine, can we suppose that our Lord, not content with simple acquiescence, not content with conforming his speech to the hallucination of the frantic man, would, by afflicting the herd with a like disease, have miraculously confirmed the delusion?'

'In this reasoning age,' says Bishop Horsley, 'we are little agreed about the cause of the disorder to which this name—possession—belongs. If we may be guided by the letter of holy writ, it was a tyranny of hellish fiends over the imagination and the sensory of the patient. For my own part I find no great difficulty of believing that this was really the case. I hold those philosophising believers I ut weak in faith, and not strong in reason, who measure the probabilities of past events by the experience of the present age, in opposition to the evidence of the historians of the times. I am inclined to think that the power of the infernal spirits over the bodies as well as the minds of men suffered a capital abridgement, an earnest of the final putting down of Satan to be trampled under foot of men, when the Son of God had achieved His great undertaking, that before that event men were subject to a sensible tyranny of the hellish crew, from which they have been ever since emancipated. As much as this appears to be implied in that remarkable saying of our Lord, when the seventy returned to him expressing their joy that they had found the devils subject to themselves through His name. He said unto them, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven." Our Lord *saw* him fall from the heaven of his power: what wonder then that the effects should no longer be perceived of a power which he hath lost? Upon these general principles, without any particular inquiry into the subject, I am contented to rest, and exhort you all to rest, in the belief, which in the primitive church was universal, that possession really was what the name imports. For that as it may, whatever the disorder was, its effects are undisputed—a complication of epilepsy and madness, sometimes accompanied with a paralytic affection of one or more of the organs of the senses, the madness, in the worst cases, of the frantic and mischievous kind.'

'There is one objection to this view of the matter which may still be urged,' says a more modern author, 'namely, that if this possession is anything more than insanity in its different forms, how comes it to pass that there are no demoniacs now? that they have wholly disappeared from the world? But the assumption that there are none, is itself one demanding to be proved.'

'Certainly in many cases of mania and epilepsy, there is a condition very analogous to that of the demoniacs, though the sufferer, and commonly the physician apprehend it differently.'

¹ Trench on the Miracles in his chapter on 'The Demoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes, to which we must refer our readers for a full account of the matter

Our next extract brings the matter very nearly home :—

‘Moreover, we cannot doubt that the might of hell has been greatly broken by the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, and with this a restraint set on the grosser manifestations of its power; “I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven” His rage and violence are continually hemmed in, and hindered by the preaching of the Word, and ministration of the Sacraments. *It were another thing even now in a heathen land, especially in one where Satan was not left in undisturbed possession, but wherein the great crisis of the conflict between light and darkness was finding place through the first incoming there of the Gospel of Christ* There we should expect very much to find, whether or not in such great intensity, yet manifestations analogous to these In a very interesting communication from India, Rheinius, the Lutheran missionary, gives this as exactly his own experience there, —namely, that among the native Christians, even though many of them walk not as children of light, yet there is not this falling under Satanic influence in soul and body which he traces frequently in the heathen around him; and he shows by a remarkable example, and one in which he is himself the witness throughout, how the assault in the name of Jesus on the kingdom of darkness, as it brings out all forms of devilish opposition into fiercest activity, so it calls out the endeavour to counterwork the truth through men who have been made direct organs of the devilish will’

‘These possessions,’ says, however, another authority, ‘are not restricted to professed heathens. I have met with several cases amongst persons who had recently placed themselves under Christian instruction, and a few amongst native Christians of longer standing, in which all the ordinary symptoms of possession, as recognized by Shanars, were developed This corresponds I believe, with the experience of most of the missionaries in Tinnevely The relatives in such cases do not think themselves at liberty to attempt to exorcise the demon in the usual way Accordingly, the missionaries have sometimes been sent for to try the effect of European remedies, and when they have interfered have generally succeeded to the people’s satisfaction, as well as their own Some of the possessions yield by degrees to moral influence and alternatives, but in the majority of cases the most effectual exorcism is—tartar emetic

‘I do not contend that real demoniacal possessions never occur in heathen countries Where Satan rules without opposition, and where belief in the reality and frequency of possessions is so general, it is natural to suppose that there must be some foundation for the belief Popular delusions generally include a fact My mind is open to receive evidence on the subject, and considering the number of astonishing cases that almost every native says he has been told of by those who have seen them, I had hoped some day to witness something of the kind myself But I have not yet had an opportunity of being present

‘The Rev R Caldwell, B A, in his *Sketch of the Tinnevely Shanars*

'where preternatural symptoms were exhibited, though I have sought for such an opportunity for nearly twelve years, the greater part of the time in a devil worshipping community. This is the experience, as far as I have heard, of all British and American missionaries, with the exception of one dubious case. Our German brethren seem to have been more fortunate.'

Mr Caldwell and his friends, we may add, perhaps sought for too much evidence.

CHAPTER X

THE STATE AFTER DEATH—HADES—PARADISE—FINAL EMANCIPATION

THE mourners assemble on the evening of the funeral at the house of the deceased, where a Brahmin reads to them the Gurood Pooran, they come together every succeeding evening until this scripture has been read through. Therein Krishna has revealed to Gurood many tests by which the destination of the spirit after death may be infallibly ascertained. Some souls as the deity has declared, pass at once to Paradise, others attain less perishable joys in the company of the finally emancipated. Of these highly favored beings we shall shortly have to speak, but we turn for the present, to those more numerous spirits who tread the frequented pathway which leads to the gate of Yuma.

The souls of those who have not secured for themselves an unquestioned right of admission to either of the upper worlds are fated to pass through the valley of the shadow of death, and to appear before the judgment seat of the sovereign of Hades. According to the predominance of their good deeds or their crimes, they travel, it would seem, along roads of comparative comfort, or of various degrees of torment. The authors of the Pooran, being apparently of opinion that the human mind is more easily acted upon through its fears than through its hopes, have confined themselves almost exclusively to the description of the latter.

On the thirteenth day after decease the Pret, or newly-embodied spirit, is compelled by the emissaries of Hades to set forth on its journey towards Yumpoor. Its attendants aggravate the miseries of the wicked soul by their threats and upbraidings. They cry to the Pret, 'Come quick, evil one! We will carry you to Yuma's door, we will cast you into 'Koombheepak, or some other hell!' Amidst such terrible omens the Pret, growning 'alas' 'alas!' pursues its melancholy

route, straining its ear to catch the lamentations of its friends to which it clings, as to the last bond connecting it with earth until increasing distance renders the mournful sound inaudible.

The city of Yuma is to the south below the earth and eighty six thousand yojuns¹ from it. The roads by which the souls of the wicked are conducted thither are strewed with thorns which lacerate the feet, or paved as if with heated copper. Along these painful ways where no tree offers its shade to the weary traveller by day, and where no kindly hand guides him during the hours of darkness, the Pret is urged without any repose. He cries 'Alas! alas! O my son!' and reflects upon his crimes in *having made no gifts to Brahmins*. The servants of Yuma heap upon him annoyance, dragging him along as a harsh keeper drags a monkey. He groans within himself 'I have given nothing to Brahmins, I have offered no fire sacrifice. I have performed no penances. I have neglected the worship of the Deys. I have paid no respect to Gunga's streams which give liberation! Now, O body suffer the recompense of your deeds. And again, I have constructed no place of water where there was need of it, for men birds or animals. I have prepared no pasturage for cattle, I have given no ordinary gifts no gifts to cows, I have presented no one with the Veds or with the Shastras. Even the virtuous actions which I performed have not remained in my possession!'

On the eighteenth day of its journey the Pret arrives at Oograpoor, the first of the sixteen cities which stud the road to Hades. It is inhabited entirely by Prets. There is a river there called Pooshp Bhudra and a large fig tree beneath which the servants of Yuma halt a day. Here the Pret receives such offerings as its relatives have presented in Shraddh or if less fortunate sits solitary lamenting and upbraiding itself with its neglect in having failed to provide for this sad journey through a land where nothing can be purchased and where there is no one who gives.

Another fortnight brings the Pret to Soureepoor where Raja Jungum rules who is as terrible as the Angel of Death. The

¹ The yojun is a measure of distance which different authorities make equal to four miles and a half or to nine miles.

trembling Pret makes here another halt, and receives the benefits of the shraddh performed that day upon earth. From this place, passing in its way the cities called Wutendra, Gundhury, Siddhiagum, Kroor, and Krounch, the Pret proceeds to Vichitra nugger, travelling day and night through a thick jungle, sometimes annoyed by a rain of stones, at other times oppressed with blows struck by invisible hands. Vichitrâ Raja, who is the brother of Yuma rules in this city. When the Pret has left Vichitra nugger it encounters the most appalling part of its journey,—

Hinc via, Tartarei quæ fert Acherontis ad undas

It now takes the road to Vyeturunee, and it has also to endure the horrors of the Ushee puttra Wun, a forest whose ever falling leaves are long and sharp as sword blades.

'The description of the mighty river, Vyeturunee, is,' says Krishn, 'a thing terrible to hear.' The Pret arriving at its banks, shrieks with agony when it beholds a river one hundred yojuns broad, whose sands are formed of the flesh of men, and whose fetid streams flowing with human blood and the filthy matter which exudes from ulcers, simmer as butter melting on the fire. In the river's bed pools and rocks alternate, its depth is prodigious, and buoyancy deserts its floods when they are invited to sustain the sinner. Worms and lice abound therein, alligators and all monsters which infest the waters, The sky glows like a furnace and for the unprotected sinner no shade is there but such as is to be derived from the outstretched wings of carrion birds which sail in the air and vultures whose beaks are iron. 'O Gurood!' has Krishn exclaimed, himself apparently trembling at the horrors of the scene, 'O Gurood! twelve suns pour forth, in that fearful place, 'a heat such as shall be that of the conflagration of the world.'

Amidst these scenes of horror certain sinners, and in particular those who have neglected to employ any means for securing their passage across Vyeturunee, remain for ever, Those who are less miserable are received into the boats of a thousand Kyewurtts¹ who ferry them across the stream.

The cities which remain to be visited by the Pret who

[¹ Skt *lauvarta* a fisherman.]

has escaped the horrors of Vycturinee are named Huhwapud, Dookhud, Nānākruud, Sootupt, Roudm, Payowurshun, Shee tādyn, and Bahoo Bheetee. In this latter it arrives at the end of a year's journey. Here, by the virtue of the sixteen shrūdhs it obtains a new body, which is as high as from the elbow of a man to the tip of his finger, and at the same time the old body which has been so far the travelling companion of the soul vanishes, 'as the divinity passed from Purshooram' when he crossed weapons with Ham.'

At this time the Supindee Shrūddh should be performed, which, in some cases appears to produce actual emancipation. The soul rests in Bahoo Bheetee, and obtains a cessation of misery in proportion to the value of the religious gifts which it had presented while on earth.

One more stage, and the soul beholds spread before it the huge city of Yuma, extending to a length of one thousand yojuns. At the entrance thereof, surrounded by an iron wall, towers the mansion of Chitrageopt. On a magnificent throne, studded with pearls, sits this first of the servants of Yuma — like Azrael the Arabian angel of death counting the time which is allotted to human life and recording the good deeds and the crimes of mortals. Around the residence of their chief dwell the ministers of human suffering Jwur, Loota, Vishphotuk the spirits of fever, leprosy, small pox, and all the other diseases which afflict mankind as of old they dwelt in the realms of the long since dethroned sovereign of Erebus,—

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci
 Iuctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae
 Pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus,
 Et Metus et malesuada lames ac turpis Egestas,
 Terribiles visu formæ [Virgil *Æneid* vi. 273-7]

These, all of them are the satellites of Chitrageopt, and the messengers who, at his bidding beckon the soul to Hades.

Yuma's city contains a celestial colony of Gundhurya and Upsurā. Thirteen Shruwuns sons of Brumhā, keep its gates. Their privilege it is to travel, Hecate like through heaven, earth, and hell, and upon them distance has no power in regard of either sight or sound. Such are the sentinels of Chitrageopt, who keep him informed of the actions of mortals. Their wives

are of equal power with themselves. The Shrivans, however,—for the mind which formed the Poorans can conceive no being, reach he to whatever height of majesty, to be superior to such asseurements,—are described as capable of being conciliated by certain gifts. One of them in particular, who bears the illustrious name of Dhurum dwaj, or 'Banner of Justice,' is represented as speaking on behalf of the souls by whom he has been propitiated with gifts of the seven kinds of grain.

The palace of Yuma is fifty yojuns long and twenty yojuns high. It is covered with jewels, the sweet sound of bells echoes through its courts, garlands of flowers ornament its doors, and flags wave over its battlements. Within, seated on a massive throne, the monarch of Patal receives the souls who are marshalled before his judgment seat to the sound of the warlike conch shell. The good behold in him a majestic sovereign, but to the eyes of the wicked, who tremble at the sight, he appears as a hideous fiend. Rising from his throne, he welcomes the former with respect and soon dismisses them to the regions of Paradise. but frowning upon the latter he delivers them to his ministers that they may cast them into the pits of hell, and there confine them.

to fast in fires
Fill the foul crimes done in their days of nature
Are burnt and purged away [Shakespeare *Hamlet* : 5]

The pits of hell are eighty four hundred thousand in number, the principal hells are twenty one, whose names are Rouruv, Mulabheiruv, Tameesur, Undhtameesur, Koombheepak, and others. The spirits having there suffered certain punishments, obtain bodies of four classes: each class of twenty one hundred thousand kinds¹ such as 'Induj' or bodies born of eggs, 'Oodbhij' which grow as vegetables, 'Sweduj,' which are generated of fluids, 'Jumajooj' which are produced by the conjunction of male and female.

Of the spirits whom Yuma dismisses to the upper worlds some pass to Swerga or Dev Lok, others, who have little virtue remain among the unclean Devs of which class are the

* ¹ That is to say perhaps four classes of one hundred thousand apiece, in each of the twenty one principal hells.

Yukshees, Bheiruvv Vyet is the Bhoots¹ which follow Shiva and others. Female souls of little virtue become Yuksheenees Shikeenees who follow Doorḡ¹ and other unclean Deves. The residence of the unclean spirits is Bhoowur Lok which is immediately above the earth². Above Bhoowur Lok again is Swerga the Paradise of Indra which requires a more particular description.

The author of *Curiosities of Literature* has placed among apparently ridiculous titles of honor bestowed on princes that of the Kandyen sovereign of 'Devo (Dev) or as he interprets it God'. When Mr D Israel saw something absurd in the application of this title to a king he no doubt understood it in none of its less important meanings but in that of the Supreme Being the Sovereign of the universe.

The word Dev has not usually this exalted meaning. It is applied as we have seen to other sovereigns than the Kandyen in much the same sense in which the title of Divus was applied to Julius or to Augustus by the Romans and indifferently to those monarchs whose names like that of Koomar Pal are cherished by their countrymen and to those who have like his bloody successor after a reign of oppression and violence, 'departed without being desired'. The meaning however,

¹ Not to be confounded with the Bhoot which has been already described and which is a far inferior spirit.

² See *Mansu* ii. 76. Also *Prince of the power of the air Rulers of the darkness of this world*. St. Paul to the Ephesians ii. 2 and vi. 12. On the latter passage Mr Valpy has the following —

It was a Jewish and popular opinion which as Mr Mede observes St. Paul was disposed to approve and Scripture seems to countenance that the aerial or sub-celestial regions were inhabited by the evil spirits. Milton alludes to this in *Paradise Lost* Book x. 187. 190 —

So spake this oracle then verified
When Jesus son of Mary second Eve
Saw Satan fall like lightning down from heaven
Prince of the air then rising from his grave
Spould prince palities and powers triumph'd
In open show and with ascension bright
Captivity led captive through the air
The realm itself of Satan long usurp'd
Whom he shall tread at last under our feet

which is usually conveyed to the mind of a Hindoo by the word 'Dev,' is, first, indefinitely a dweller in any one of the upper worlds, and, secondly, more particularly an inhabitant of Swarga

It is to Shiva or Vishnoo alone that prayers are made for that release from the continuing round of transmigration which is called 'Moksh,' or emancipation. In former days these divinities were not opposed to each other. 'The poet,' says Chund Bharot, at the commencement of his epic,

has celebrated the praises of Huree,
In the same strain he has also extolled Hur
Who pronounces Kesh and Sham to be distinct,
That man will depart to Hell
Higher than the high is the great splendor¹
Which pertains to Narayun
Never shall he approach it
Who reviles Mubeshwur²

But in the present day no individual addresses himself to both of these divinities. He must hold to the one and reject the other into a subordinate position. Thus it is practically the case that no Hindoo can apply the word Dev, in its sense of God to more than one being.

Three hundred and thirty millions of Devs are however, spoken of in the Hindoo scriptures. These are the occupants at one particular point of time, of Swerga, the Paradise over which Indra rules—they are so far, however, from being gods that they are represented as envying those who precede them in the attainment of emancipation,³ and it is only by straining the term that the title of King of Immortals can be applied to Indra. 'These saith the Geeta 'having through virtue
'reached the mansion of the King of the Soors first on the
'exquisite heavenly food of the gods (Devs) they who have
'enjoyed this lofty region of Suerga but whose virtue is exhausted,
'revisit the habitation of mortals'⁴ They are among those transient things of the poet s—

Whose flow'ring pride so fading and so fickle
Short Time doth soon cut down with his consuming sickle

¹ Moksh that is higher than Swerga

² Vide vol i p 211

³ Vide Sir William Jones's Works vol xiii, p 290 [This is the famous

They are not irrevocably stationed in Paradise nor exempted from the necessity of being again born into this mortal world, and of undergoing perhaps, repeated transmigrations. Their tenure of Swarga exhausted, they descend to earth and their character of Dev is again clothed upon with that of mortal man. Hence, when the Hindoos behold a meteor falling from heaven they believe that it is a Dev who has enjoyed the happiness which was the reward of his virtuous life in a former birth and is now returning with alas ! but feeble reminiscence of his more blessed state, to be reborn upon this earth.

Indra himself reigns only for a season, and then gives place to some other whom a hundred Ushwamedas have fitted to fill the throne of heaven. He is notwithstanding during the duration of his power, a sublime sovereign, the arch of Iris is his bow the lightning is the glitter of his brandished weapons, and the deep voiced thunder the rolling of his royal drum.

In the endeavour to realize the idea of a future state of happiness human conception has never risen beyond the assembling into one place of the objects which men hold most dear in the present world. ' Instead of using these merely as analogies, which might help them to some vague conception of those they take them for specific earnest of the others ' 1

doctrine of *Samsara* or wandering of the soul until it has exhausted its *Karma* or the result of its actions in past births. This doctrine first appears in the *Upanishads* and is remarkably similar to the teaching of Plato e.g. in the legend of Er the Pamphylian which closes the *Republic*. The passage of the *Gita* here referred to is from the ninth book and is thus rendered by Sir Edwin Arnold

Yea ! those who learn
The threefold Veds who drink the Soma wine
Purge sins pay sacrifice—from Me they earn
Passage to Svarga where the meats divine
Of great gods feed them in high Indra's heaven
Yet they when that prodigious joy is o'er
Paradise spent and wage for merits given
Come to the world of death and change once more.]

1 Vide *Sermons* chiefly expository by Richard Edmund Tyrwhitt M.A. Oxford J. H. Parker 1847 Vol. 1 pp 537-540
Perhaps as good an illustration as can be readily selected of the truth

The Hindoo conception of Swerga does not violate the general rule, although its inadequacy seems to have been perceived by its authors. The second of the four means of attaining perfection, indicated by the Vedant-sir, is the cultivation of 'a distaste of all sensual pleasures, and even of the happiness enjoyed by the gods (Devs)'.¹ In the city of Umurawutee, the capital of Swerga, grows the tree of desire, which confers upon the denizens of Paradise the power of obtaining for themselves or others whatever, in that or the lower Loks, they seek to possess, and thus procures for them such honors as are derivable from the prayers of mortals for objects of terrestrial enjoyment. It is for these only that the Devs of Swerga are worshipped.

The Devs obtain, during their allotted term, bodies ever youthful and incapable of pain. Their food is umrut or ambrosia. Kamdhenoo supplies them in perfection with all those products of the cow, which are so indispensably necessary to Hindoo happiness. The Gundhurys entertain them with celestial music. Nor are they deprived of the pleasures of love. As the Arabian paradise has its Howris, and the Hall of Odin its Valkyriors, so the more ancient heaven of Indra boasts of its Upsuras. Like the virgins of Vallialla the choosers of the sun, the Upsuras continually hover above the field of battle, ready to convey to Swerga the warriors who pass to heaven through its carnage. Nor is the zeal of the Rajpoot

of this remark is furnished by the following passage from the *Dasatir*,² an apochryphal work, purporting to be 'Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets'. Though the work be a forgery, the conception of heaven will be admitted to be eminently Persian —

'In the heavens there is pleasure such as none but those who enjoy it can conceive. The lowest degree of enjoyment in heaven is such as is felt by the poorest of men when he receives a gift equal to this whole lower world. Moreover, the pleasures that arise in it, from the beauty of wives, and handmaids, and slaves from eating and drinking, from dress and fine carpets, and commodious seats, is such as cannot be comprehended in this lower world. To the celestials, the bounty of the Most High Mezdram hath vouchsafed a body which admitteth not of separation, which doth not wax old, and is susceptible of neither pain nor defilement.'

¹ In the name of Lareng!

² Vide Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. 1, Introduction, p. v

chieftains less sustained by faith than that of the soldiers of the crescent, who—

Risk a life with little loss,
Secure in Paradise to be,
By Hours love I immortally

[Byron, *Siege of Corinth*, xii.]

It is not, however, the death of the soldier¹ alone, which entitles to canonization as a Dev. He who dies at Broach, Prubhâs, Sidhpoor, or Aboo, attains to the heaven of Indra² It is, however, the faithful only to whom these promises apply. *The wicked slaughterer of fish*, it is said, *daily beholds in vain the sanctifying streams of the Nerbudda*. He who settles annual grants upon priests carries with him to Paradise his father and mother, and the progenitors of both. The giver of 'bride-gift' to Brahmins, obtains the joy of the Soors' dwelling for

¹ The following is extracted from an account given at the time by a French party who humanely employed themselves in relieving wounded Russian soldiers as they lay on the field of Inkermann — A Jole, belonging to the Foreign Legion who happened to be present, asked some questions of the poor men. They informed him that their popes and their officers had assured them that the pagan enemies of the Holy Church of the Autocrat caused the Russian prisoners to be put to the most frightful torture and that such of the children of the Czar as died in the sacred war would mount straight to Paradise unless they were in a state of sin, and in which case they would be again born in their own country.

² The most renowned site of these Mongol sepulchres is in the province of Chan Si, by the famous Lama convent of the Five Towers, the ground is said to be so holy that those who are interred there are sure to effect an excellent transmigration. This marvellous sanctity is attributed to the presence of old Buddha who has had his abode there, within the centre of a mountain for some ages. In 1812 Toko wn, of whom we have already spoken transported thither the bones of his father and mother and had according to his own account the happiness of viewing Buddha face to face through a hole not larger than the mouth of a pipe. He is seated in the heart of the mountain cross legged, and doing nothing surrounded by Lamas of all countries engaged in continual prostrations.

³ In the deserts of Tartary, Mongols are frequently met with carrying on their shoulders the bones of their kindred and journeying in caravans to the Five Towers there to purchase, almost at its weight in gold, a few feet of earth whereon to erect a mausoleum. Some of them undertake a journey of a whole year's duration, and of excessive hardship, to reach this holy spot. — *Huc's Travels*

his paternal ancestors, he who has constructed a way, a well, a reservoir, a garden, or a house of Deys, or who repairs these, is admitted to Umurpoor, and the giver to Brahmans of mango trees or daily gifts is borne to that abode of happiness in a splendid chariot, upon which four servants sit to fan him with chamurs. They also attain to Swergra who offer their heads to Shiva in the lotus worship who take 'the terrible leap' from the summit of some consecrated cliff, who drown themselves in the holy waters of the Ganges or commit suicide in any of those other modes which the Hindoo scriptures have invested with the character of meritoriousness. Of such self sacrifices that of the Sutec is the most remarkable, as it has also been the most common. The wife who burns with the corpse of her lord lives with her husband as his consort in Paradise, she procures admission also to that sacred abode for seven generations of her own and his progenitors even though these should have been consigned for the punishment of their own misdeeds, to the abodes of torture over which Yuma presides. 'While the pile is preparing is the exclamation of the Brumh Pooran tell the faithful wife of the greatest duty of woman, 'she is loyal and pure who burns herself with her husband's 'corpse. And the Gurood Pooran declares that the Sutec lives with her husband in the unbroken felicity of Swergra for thirty three millions of years at the end of which period she is re born in a noble family, and re united to the same well beloved lord.

Sometimes instead of joining in the ring of mourners the wife of the deceased sits awhile silent and stern. Presently, with wildly rolling eye and frantic gesture, she bursts forth into exclamations of 'Victory to Umba! Victory to Run 'chor'. It is believed that 'Sut has come upon her' that she is inspired or rather has already assumed the nature of those who dwell in Swergra. The hands of the new Devec are impressed in vermilion upon the wall of her house as an omen of prosperity, the same hands are imposed also upon the heads of her children. Her family and friends seek her benediction and question her of the future her enemies strive by submission to avert her anger, or, trembling hide themselves from her

curse. The raja and his chiefs approach her presence with offerings of cocoa nuts and bridal vestments, she is set upon horseback, and preceded by music, goes forth to accompany her husband to the pyre. Dressed in her most splendid garments in procession such as that of marriage, she passes through the town the people bending before her, and pressing to touch her feet. She cries, 'Quick! quick! my lord will chide my delay, he is already getting to a distance from me!' She is eager 'to join her lord through the flame.' 'Victory to Umbal! Victory to Runchor!' is still her cry, and it is taken up by those around her. When she reaches the gate of the town she makes the auspicious impression of her hands with vermillion upon its doors.

The pile of the Sutee is unusually large, heavy cart wheels are placed upon it to which her limbs are bound or sometimes a canopy of massive logs is raised above it to crush her by its fall. She seats herself with her husband's head reclining in her lap and undismayed by all the paraphernalia of torment and of death, herself sets fire to the pile. It is a fatal omen to hear the sound of the Sutee's groan, as therefore the fire springs up from the pile, there rises simultaneously with it a deafening shout of 'Victory to Umbal! Victory to Runchor!' and the screaming horn and the hard rattling drum sound their loudest until the sacrifice is consummated.

These spectacles so full of horror, are now, it is true but rarely witnessed. they still however, occur sometimes.¹ The rite was compulsory only in the case of Rajpoots, by some castes of Hindoos—as for instance, by the Nagur Brahmuns,—it was never practised at all.

Goozerat is covered with monuments more or less permanent, pointing out the spots whence mortals have departed to Swerga. These are sometimes merely unheaven stones smeared with red lead or heaps such as we have described loosely thrown together, but more usually engraved head stones either standing alone or covered by the pavilions called Chutrees and not unfrequently temples of greater or less size which enclose

¹ On the 1st of October 1853 the wife of the Waghela chief of Aloowā became a Sutee at that village in the Guikowar's district of Kuree.

an image of the Dev. The sculptured monuments are called 'pâleeyos.' They bear a rude representation of the deceased warrior mounted upon his war-horse, or driving his chariot, according to the circumstances which may have attended his fall. The pâleeyo of the Sutce is distinguished by a woman's arm adorned with marriage bracelets. A dagger piercing the heart or throat of a man often shows the spot where a Bhât has slain himself in Trâgâ. Beneath the sculptured bas-relief is written the name of the deceased, the date of the death, and usually an account of the circumstances which preceded it. These funeral monuments, frequently in great numbers, fringe the reservoirs of water, or cluster around the gateways of the towns. At each pâleeyo the relations of the deceased worship once a year, either on the anniversary of the death, or on some other day appointed for festival, and when a marriage takes place in the family thither the bride and bridegroom repair, to pay obeisance to their beatified ancestor.

Some of these monuments attain insensibly to a high degree of sanctity. If a person who has made a vow at one of them chance to obtain the object which he had in view, his gratitude leads him to spend money in entertaining Brahmins at the pâleeyo, or even in erecting a temple there. In either case the fame of the Dev is spread by those who are interested in maintaining it, and others are attracted to the now general worship.

The temple of the Devec Boucherâjee, as we have seen, grew up out of a rude stone placed to commemorate the death of a Chârân woman. Another much worshipped shrine in the Ruin of Kutch, on the road from Hulwud to Arcesur, marks the place where Wurnâjee Purnmâr, a Rajpoot chieftain, was slain in the garments of his hardly celebrated marriage, when pursuing a band of predatory Koolees who had carried off the cattle of his town. One of the most interesting, probably, of the later cases of canonization, is that of Sudoobâ the Bhâtun, which we now propose to describe to our readers.

In the year succeeding that in which the victor of Assaye had crushed the power of Napoleon, the city of Ahmed still owed a divided duty to the Peshwah and the Guikowâr, whose representatives held their respective courts in the two citadels

called the Budder and the Huwelee. At this time a set of men of bad character, called Chardees, followed in the city the trade of common informers. The Chardees were a source of revenue, and as the governments of that day had but one idea—that of filling their coffers by any and every means—they were esteemed by their rulers in proportion to the gain which was acquired through their agency. A common mode of extorting money, pursued by the Chardees, was that of accusing respectable women of loose behaviour. They sometimes also procured females of blemished characters to name as their paramours men of wealth from whom the Hindoo rulers on the ground of their immorality exacted fines. Of these the Chardees retained a fixed share but they also took care to secure perquisites of their own appointment.

The most notorious of these informers was a Wānceo named Ootum who lived in the division of the city called Shahpoor, near which is the Bhatwari. This Chardee, it is said attempted without success the virtue of Sudooba, the wife of a Bhat named Huree Singh. In revenge of his repulse he brought against her a false accusation of adultery, and having procured officers from the Peshwah's governor proceeded one night to arrest her. The Bhatum made many protestations of innocence and ineffectually appealed to the mercy of the Chardee. He refused to forgo his gain and his revenge. The officers were dragging her away when the terrified woman cried to her husband to preserve her honour by those dreadful means which the Bhat well knew how to employ. Huree Singh thus adjured brought from his house his infant child and killing it hung it up in its cradle to the branch of a mango tree which stands in the centre of Bhatwari. Notwithstanding this sacrifice Ootum remained inflexible and repeatedly ordered the officers to drag her along. Sudooba driven to desperation at last implored her husband to turn his sword upon herself. The fanatical Bhat without hesitation struck her head from her body.

The news spread as the night wore away, and the Bhat and others who were accustomed to practice Trāga assembled at the spot where the tragedy had been acted. They considered their own honour tarnished by the ill success of Huree Singh's

first resort to that peculiar means of compelling acquiescence with demands which they themselves might be next day forced to employ, and the sight of the corpses of Sudoobâ and her child excited them to fury. Seizing whatever weapons first presented themselves they ran to destroy the Chârdeecâs. By the time that morning broke a crowd of Bhâts was collected around the reservoir in front of the college of Azim Khân, and the once royal entrance to the Budder. Hâmehunder Molekur, the Peshwah's officer, became alarmed at the mass of people which had collected, and the heavy gates of the Budder were already swinging on their hinges, when Ootum, watching his opportunity, rushed into the citadel, and threw himself on the protection of the governor. Another celebrated Chârdeecâ, named Jeewun Joweyree, escaped, also, and found shelter in the Guikowâr's Huwelee. The whole of that day the Bhâts, fasting and thirsty, pursued the Chârdeecâs. Some they beat, others they wounded, and a few they put to death. It is mentioned in a ballad which commemorates the event, that one Chârdeecâ, who had concealed himself in a well, was drawn up by the mob and torn to pieces.

The next day the Bhâts assembled at the Guikowâr's Huwelee, and shouted for the blood of Jeewun Joweyree. The commandant, who was a popular officer, remonstrated with them, entreating them not to dishonour his government by compelling him to surrender the Chârdeecâ, and promising that he would himself expel Jeewun Joweyree in a disgraceful manner from the city. In earnest of this he exhibited the Chârdeecâ to them bound, and with his face blackened. The Bhâts were appeased by the exhibition, and withdrew.

They were not, however, so easily induced to retire from the Budder, and the Peshwah's governor was compelled to seat Ootum on a donkey, and cause him to be conveyed, under the protection of a guard of soldiers, to the Kâlâpoor gate, from whence he was to be expelled the city. The mob followed the procession in silence until it had passed beyond the gate. They then pressed forward, and warned the Mahratta officers that it was high time they should secure their own retreat. The hint was not thrown away: the guard hurriedly retired, and the mob had now their victim in their hands. They cast him from

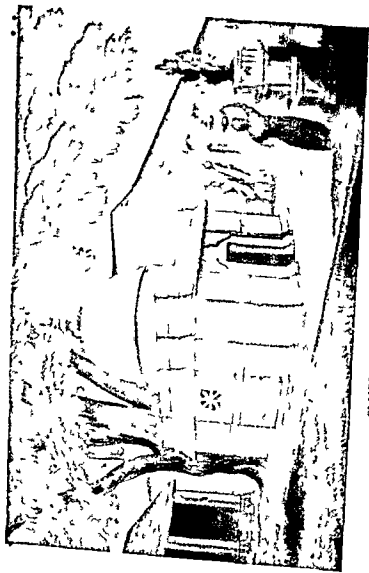
off the anima on which he rode, and stoned him to death, continuing to pile missile upon missile, until they had raised a heap above his corpse. Their work of vengeance thus completed they dispersed to their own homes.

In July of the year following, as is recorded on a marble slab on the left hand of the entrance, a small temple rose upon the spot where the Bhūtan was sacrificed, and an image of Devce Sudoobā was installed therein. The sacred basil tree was planted before the shrine of the new denizen of paradise, and she who on earth was found incapable of protecting her reputation otherwise than by sacrificing her life, has become, through the virtues of the tree of Swerga, a dispenser of all earthly benefits to those who, with incense, burning of lamps, and offerings of scarlet garments may be enabled to propitiate the favour of a protectress so powerful.

The souls of those whose virtues in their mortal existence have been of a higher character than such as entitle to the position of a Dev of Swerga, attain to Mooktee or emancipation. Indra's paradise, it would seem, bears to this higher heaven, a relation such as that which Valhalla bears to the Scandinavian Gimli—the palace covered with gold, where, after the renovation of all things, the just enjoy delights for ever. Among those who pass to the habitation of the Mookt, Kṛṣṇ has enumerated in the Gurood Pooran those who sacrifice their lives in defence of a Brahmin, a cow, a woman, or a child. He has further thus declared—

Uyodhya Muthoorā Maya
 Kāshee Kante Uwunteeka
 Dwara muttee pooree understand
 The whole seven as moksh procurers.
 Where the Shalagram stone is found,
 Where a stone of Dwara muttee,
 Where both of these meet,
 There is Mooktee, without doubt.

All living things, it is believed possess three kinds of bodies—those called 'sthul,' 'sookshum,' and 'karun,'—as well as the 'atma' or soul. Of these bodies we can give our readers but a general description. The 'sthul' is the tangible body, gifted with ten 'indreeyas, five of which are known to us



TEMPLE OF DEVEL SUDOORA

as the five senses : it possesses also four 'untuhkuruns' or inner powers,—those of instinctive desire, perception, reflection, and self perception or egotism 'uhunkâr.' The 'sookshum' body possesses the five senses, and the four 'untuhkuruns.' In the 'kârun' there are three 'goons' or qualities—'râjus,' 'tîmus,' and 'sîtwa'—which find their highest developments in the natures of Brumhî, Shîva, and Vishnôo. The soul which has attained to separation from these three bodies reaches the state of the Mookt.¹

¹ [According to Krishna in the *Gîta*, Bk. xiv —

'*Saltran, Rajas and Tamas* so are named
The Qualities of Nature, 'soothfastness,"
"Passion" and "Ignorance" These three bind down
The changeless spirit in the changeful flesh.

When, watching life, the living man perceives
The only actors are the Qualities,
And knows what rules beyond the Qualities
Then is he come nigh unto me '
The Soul,
Thus passing forth from the Three Qualities—
Whereby arise all bodies—overcomes
Birth, Death, Sorrow, and Age, and drinketh deep
The undying wine of Amrit

The Samkhya system, 'conceives the Material First Cause, itself unintelligent, to have become developed, by a gradual process of evolution, into all the actual forms of the phenomenal Universe, except the souls. Its first emanation is *buddhi*, intelligence, whence springs *ahamkara*, consciousness (or 'conscious mind matter, Davies), thence the subtle elements of material forms, viz. five elementary particles (*tanmatras*) and eleven organs of sense, and finally, from the elementary particles, five elements. The souls have from all eternity been connected with Nature—having in the first place become invested with a subtle frame (*linga*—or *sukshma-sarira*), consisting of seventeen principles, viz. intelligence, consciousness, elementary particles, and organs of sense and action, including mind. To account for the spontaneous development of matter, the system assumes the latter to consist of three constituents (*guna*), which are possessed of different qualities, viz. *sattva*, of pleasing qualities, such as 'goodness', lightness, luminosity, *rajas*, of pain giving qualities, such as 'gloom', passion, activity, and 'tamas', of deadening qualities, such as darkness, rigidity, dulness which, if not in a state of equipoise, cause unrest and development. Through all this course of development, the soul itself remains perfectly indifferent, its sole properties being those of purity and intelligence,

The Mookt themselves are divided into four classes—those who have attained to 'āmeepya' or residence in the habitation of the divinity, 'sinniddhya' or access to his presence, 'sāroopya,' or equality with, and 'slyoojya,' or absolute incorporation in, the Supreme. The Mookt of the first three classes are no longer subject to transmigration, no longer amenable to the punishment of their sins nor desirous of sensual pleasures as the reward of their virtue. They are, henceforth, incapable of sin. It is said, however, that they still retain some remnant of 'uhunkar,' and that egotistic pride exposes them sometimes to the curse of the Supreme, which they expiate by residence for a limited term upon earth.

The Vedāntee believes that the soul of the Mookt is incorporated with Puruṣa, the Shaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, that it dwells in Kyeśa or in Vyekoonth.¹

The functions usually regarded as 'psychic' being due to the mechanical processes of the internal organs themselves evolved out of inanimate matter. Invested with its subtle frame which accompanies it through the cycle of transmigration, the soul for the sake of fruition connects itself ever anew with Nature, thus as it were creating for itself ever new forms of material existence, and it is only on its attaining perfect knowledge, whereby the ever-changing modes of intelligence cease to be reflected on him, that the Puruṣa is liberated from the miseries of Samsāra and continues to exist in a state of absolute unconsciousness and detachment from matter. J. Eggeling in *Ency. Brit.* 11th ed. xxiv. 178.]

¹ There are eighteen Poorans, of which ten are Shaivite and eight Vaiṣṇavite; their doctrines are of course not always consistent with each other. The followers of Shiva regard Vishnū as merely the first of his servants, and the votaries of Vishnū similarly regard Shiva. The Hindoo sects may, for popular purposes, be reduced to these two, for the Vedāntees have no great hold on the public mind, and the followers of the Shuktees, or female associates of the two great members of the triad, fall under the head of the disciples of either one or other of these. Both sects it would seem believe in Swarga in Kyeśa and in Vyekoonth, but the Shaivite regards Vyekoonth, and the Vaiṣṇavite regards Kyeśa as merely a second Swarga. Each sect believes that the heaven of the r-opponents passes away with Indra's paradise at the Mūha Pralay, but that their own heaven is not so much destroyed as re-created—Kyeśa merging into Mūha Kyeśa and Vyekoonth being elevated into Go Lok.

The Hindoos, we may here remark, do not discompose themselves at the names of God, or Ullah, because they consider these expressions synonymous with Puruṣeshwar—the Supreme Being, that is to say

Brumhâ dwells in Sutya Lok, surrounded by Reeshees and by minor gods. He is employed in creating men, and in recording human destiny. Vyekoonth is the seat of Vishnôo—the heaven which he quitted to assume the incarnate form of Râm. There sits the preserver of the world, enthroned with his consort Lukshmee, attended by Hunoomân, Gurood, and all the other beings whose names crowd his mythic story, and watched by Droov, the north star, the keeper of his royal gate. In Kyelâs dwells Shiva—his bride, the mysterious Doorgâ, by his side—and broods upon his endless task of world-destroying. Before him, habited like himself in ashes, their hair matted upon their heads, Gunesh and his goblin crew lead the frantic dance, and with mad orgies move the gloomy deity to smile.

When the four ages—of gold, of silver, of copper, and of iron—have each passed over one and seventy times, a reign of Indra is complete, and a new sovereign rules in Paradise. When fourteen Indras have ruled, a day of Brumhâ is at an end, and, as the night draws on, Swerga, Mrityoo-Lok, and Pâtâl vanish to re appear in the morning. When the deity has lived one hundred years, then rages the Muhâ-Prulây—the great fire deluge which envelopes the universe in one crash of ruin.

As the smoke of this scene of awful tumult clears away, the imagination of the Hindoo sees arising beyond it the form of a new heaven, presided over by the God in whom he has centred his faith. The follower of the Preserver beholds a vision of Go-Lok, where Vishnôo in undisturbed sovereignty dwells—a four-armed deity. Thence it was that the greatest of incarnate gods, the divine Krishn, descended upon earth, and there, in the form of the shepherd and shepherdesses of Vruj, his

the Purumâtma, or Supreme Spirit of the Vedântee, the Shiva of the Shaivite, the Vishnôo of the Vaishnavite. This exalted being, they consider, does not interfere immediately in the affairs of men—no question of scripture is necessarily brought forward by the introduction of his name. But when the names of Jesus Christ or Mohummed are employed, the case is different; the Hindoos understand these to refer to some man who appeared on this earth, whom Meech believe to be of similar nature with Râm or Krishn, and the belief in whom is necessarily inconsistent with the belief in their own scriptures

votaries are now assembled to dance for ever in the henceforth uninterrupted circle of Vrindaban. The worshipper of the Destroyer, on the other hand, realizes to himself the eternal rest of Muhi Kyeli¹ as yet but symbolized by the unutterable silence of loftiest Himalaya, where freed from the bonds of a troubled and too often recurring mortal life—a life which yet, in reminiscence, seems to him to have been but momentary—his soul is to find peace in amalgamation with the Being from whom it proceeded as the reflexion of the moon appearing for a while upon the rippling surface of a lake is suddenly withdrawn to heaven or as a bubble for a moment is distinguishable, and then bursts upon the ocean bosom of the One Supreme.¹

- ¹ [The dew is on the Lotus, rise great Sun,
And lift my leaf and I mix me with the wave
Om mani padme hum, the sunrise comes!
The dewdrop slips into the shining sea!
Light of Asia, fn]

INDEX AND GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

[A, Arabic, G, Gujarati, H, Hindi, M, Marathi, P, Persian, S, Sanskrit, T, Turkish]

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 abroo [P *abru*, reputation] n 249
 Ācharya [S. A spiritual guide or teacher] i 182, 195 n
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 Ādeenath [Rishabadeva, the first Jain Tirthankara] i 6, 9
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 Ādowalo, n 124
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